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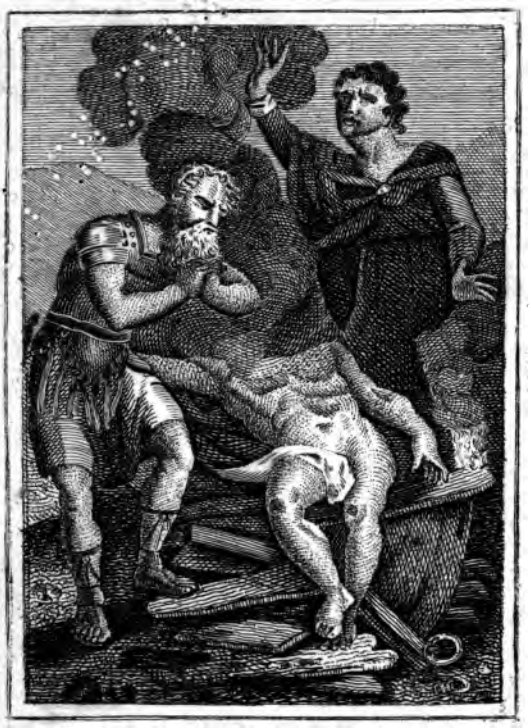

The Funeral of Pompey

GOLDSMITH's

ROMAN HISTORY.

ABRIDGED BY HIMSELF.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

FOURTH AMERICAN EDITION.

PUBLISHED BY

JACOB JOHNSON, AND SOLD AT HIS BOOKSTORES IN PHILADELPHIA, AND RICHMOND, (VIR.)

ALEXANDER & PHILLIPS, PRINTERS, CARLISLE.

1808.

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PREFACE.

THERE are some subjects on which a writer must decline all attempts to acquire fame, satisfied with being obscurely useful. After such a number of Roman Histories, in all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but imposture to pretend new discoveries, or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts which it relates have been an hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been so variously considered, that learning can scarcely find a new anecdote, or genius give novelty to the old.

I hope, therefore, for the reader's indulgence, if, in the following attempt, it shall appear that my only aim was to supply a concise, plain, and unaffected narrative of the rise and decline of a well known empire. I was contented to make such a book as could not fail of being serviceable, though of all others the most unlikely to promote the reputation of the writer. Instead therefore of pressing forward among the ambitious, I only claim the merit of knowing my own strength, and falling back among the hindmost ranks with conscious inferiority.

I am not ignorant, however, that it would be no such difficult task to pursue the same arts by which many dull men every day acquire a reputation *in history*; such might easily be attained,

by fixing on some obscure period to write upon, where much seeming erudition might be displayed, almost unknown, because not worth remembering; and many maxims in politics might be advanced entirely new, because altogether false. But I have pursued a contrary method, chusing the most noted periods in history, and offering no remarks but such as I thought strictly true.

The reasons of my choice were, that we had no history of this splendid period in our language, but what was either too voluminous for common use, or too meanly written to please. Catrou and Rouille's History, in six volumes folio, translated into our language by Bundy, is entirely unsuited to the time and expense mankind usually chuse to bestow upon this subject: Rollin, and his continuator Crevier, making above thirty volumes octavo, seem to labour under the same imputation; as likewise Hooke, who has spent three quartos upon the republic alone, the rest of his undertaking remaining unfinished.* There only therefore remained the History by Echard, in five volumes octavo, whose plan and mine seemed to coincide; and, had his execution been equal to his design, it had precluded the present undertaking. But the truth is, it is so poorly written, the facts so crouded, the narration so spiritless, and the characters so indistinctly marked, that the most ardent curiosity must cool in the perusal; and the noblest transactions that ever warmed the human heart, as described by him must cease to interest.

* *A fourth volume has been since published.*

I have endeavoured, therefore, in the present work (or rather compilation) to obviate the inconveniences arising from the exuberance of the former, as well as from the unpleasantness of the latter. Too much time may be given even to laudable pursuits, and there is none more apt than this, to allure the student from more necessary branches of learning, and, if I may so express it, entirely to engross his industry. What is here offered therefore may be sufficient for all but such as make history the peculiar business of their lives; to such the most tedious narrative will seem but an abridgment, as they measure the merit of a work rather by the quantity than the quality of its contents. Others, however, who think more soberly, will agree, that in so extensive a field as that of the transactions of Rome, more judgment may be shewn by selecting what is important, than by adding what is obscure. The history of this empire has been extended to six volumes folio; and I aver, that, with very little learning, it might be increased to sixteen more; but what would this be but to load the subject with unimportant facts, and so to weaken the narration, that like the empire it described, it must necessarily sink beneath the weight of its own acquisitions!

But while I thus have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, it was found no easy matter to prevent crowding the facts, and to give every narrative its proper play. In reality, no art can contrive to avoid opposite defects; he who indulges in minute particularities will be often languid, and he who *studies conciseness* will as frequently be dry

and unentertaining. As it was my aim to comprise as much as possible in the smallest compass, it is feared the work will often be subject to the latter imputation; but it was impossible to furnish the public with a cheap Roman history, and at the same time to give all that warmth to the narrative, all those colourings to the description, which works of twenty times the bulk have room to exhibit. I shall be fully satisfied, therefore, if it furnishes an interest sufficient to allure the reader to the end; and this is a claim to which few abridgments can justly make pretensions.

To these objections there are some who may add, that I have rejected many of the modern improvements in Roman history, and that every character is left in full possession of that fame or infamy which it obtained from its contemporaries, or those who wrote immediately after. I acknowledge the charge, for it appears now too late to re-judge the virtues or the vices of those men who were but very incompletely known even to their own historians. The Romans, perhaps, upon many occasions, formed wrong ideas of virtue but they were by no means so ignorant or abandoned in general as not to give their brightest characters the greatest share of their applause; and I do not know whether it be fair to try Pagan actions by the standard of Christian morality.

But, whatever may be my execution of this work, I have very little doubts about the success of the undertaking; the subject is the noblest that ever employed human attention; and instead of requiring a writer's aid, will support him with its *splendor*. The empire of the world, rising from

the meanest origin, and growing great by a strict veneration for religion, and an implicit confidence in its commanders, continually changing the mode, but seldom the spirit of its government, being a constitution in which the military power, whether under the name of citizens or soldiers, almost always prevailed; adopting all the improvements of other nations with the most indefatigable industry, and submitting to be taught by those whom it afterwards subdued: this is a picture that must affect us however it be disposed; these materials must have their value under the hand of the meanest workman.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF ROME.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the Romans.

THE Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descended from the gods, as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having escaped from the destruction of Troy, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy [A. M. 2294.] where he was kindly received by Latinus, king of the Latins, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, was the first who opposed Æneas, he having long made pretensions to Lavinia himself. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and Turnus slain. In consequence of this Æneas built a city which was called Lavinium, in honour of his wife: and some time after, engaging in another war against Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years.

Numitor, the fifteenth king in a direct line from Æneas, who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named Amulius, to whom he left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. As riches but too generally prevail against right, Amulius made *use of his wealth* to supplant his brother, and soon

found means to possess himself of the kingdom. Not content with the crime of usurpation, he added that of murder also. Numitor's sons first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions; and to remove all apprehensions of being one day disturbed in his ill got power, he caused Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal virgin; which office obliging her to perpetual celibacy, made him less uneasy as to the claims of posterity.

His precautions, however, were all frustrated in the event: for Rhea Silvia, going to fetch water from a neighbouring grove, was met and ravished by a man, whom, perhaps to palliate her offence, she averred to be Mars, the god of war. From this congress she was brought to bed of two boys, who were no sooner born than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had violated their chastity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tyber. It happened at the time this rigorous sentence was put into execution, that the river had more than usually overflowed its banks, so that the place where the children were thrown being at a distance from the main current, the water was too shallow to drown them. In this situation, therefore, they continued without harm; and, that no part of their preservation might want its wonders, we are told that they were for some time suckled by a wolf, until Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them thus exposed, brought them home to Aca Laurentia his wife, who brought them up as his own.

Romulus and Remus, the twins, thus strangely preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed original. The shepherd's life began to displease them; and, from tending flocks, or hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their strength against the robbers round the country, whom they often stript of their plunder to share it among their fellow shepherds. In one of these excursions Remus was taken prisoner by Numitor's herdsman, who brought him before the king, and accused him of being a plunderer. Romulus, however, being informed by Faustulus of his real birth, was not remiss in assembling a number of his fellow shepherds, who beset the usurper on all sides, who, during his amazement and distraction, was taken and slain

while Numitor. who had been deposed forty-two years, recognised his grandsons, and was once more restored to the throne.

Numitor being thus in quiet possession of the kingdom, his grandsons resolved to build a city upon those hills where they had formerly lived as shepherds. Many of the neighbouring shepherds also, and such as were fond of change, repaired to the intended city, and prepared to raise it. In order to proceed in this undertaking with all possible solemnity, the two brothers were advised by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds, and that he whose omen should be most favourable should in all respects direct the other. In compliance with this advice they both took their stations upon different hills. To Remus appeared six vultures; to Romulus twice that number: so that each party thought itself victorious: the one having the first omen, the other the most complete. This produced a contest, which ended in a battle, wherein Remus was slain; and it is even said that he was killed by his brother, who being provoked at his leaping over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot.

Romulus, being now sole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city, that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his successful omen [A. M. 3252. ante c. 752.] The city was at first almost square, containing about a thousand houses. It was near a mile in compass, and commanded a small territory round it of about eight miles over. However small as it appears, it was notwithstanding worse inhabited; and the first method made use of to increase its numbers, was the opening a sanctuary for all malefactors, slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty; and these came in great multitudes, and contributed to increase the number of our legislator's new subjects.

CHAP. II.

From the building of Rome to the Death of Romulus.

SCARCE was the city raised above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Romulus, by an act of great generosity, left them at liberty to chuse whom they would for their king; and they in gratitude concurred to elect their founder; he was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beside a guard to attend his person, it was agreed, that he should be preceded wherever he went by twelve men, armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods, who were to serve as executioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of his authority.

The senate, which was to act as counsellors to the king, was composed of an hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, consisting of men whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow subjects; and the king named the first senator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required his own absence.

The Plebeians, who composed the third part of the legislature, assumed to themselves the power of authorizing those laws which were passed by the king or the senate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magistrates, and even to the chusing a king, were confirmed by suffrages in their assemblies.

The first care of the new created king was to attend to the interests of religion: but the precise form of their worship is unknown. The greatest part of the religion of that age consisted in firm reliance upon the credit of their soothsayers, who pretended, from observations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and to dive into futurity. Romulus, by an express law, commanded that no election should be made, no enterprize undertaken, without first consulting them.

Wives were forbid, upon any pretext whatsoever, to *separate from their husbands*; while, on the contrary, the

husband was empowered to repudiate his wife, and even in some cases to put her to death. His laws between children and their parents were yet still more severe; the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could sell them or imprison them at any time of their lives, or in any stations to which they were arrived.

After his endeavours by laws to regulate his subjects, he next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted but to three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes were subdivided into ten curiæ, or companies, consisting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a priest, called curio, to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called duumviri, to distribute justice.

By these wise regulations, each day added strength to the new city; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women to ascertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus by the advice of the senate, sent deputies among the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and upon these terms offering to cement the most strict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposal with disdain; Romulus, therefore proclaimed a feast in honour of Neptune throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most magnificent preparations for it. These feasts were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in shews of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot courses. The Sabines as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to share the pleasure of the sight. In the mean time the games began, and while the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this breach of hospitality; in vain the virgins themselves at first opposed the attempts of their ravishers; persever-

rance and caresses obtained those favours which timidity at first denied; so that the betrayers, from being objects of aversion, soon became the partners of their dearest affections.

A bloody war ensued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna, and Crustumium, were the first who resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. But all these, by making separate inroads, became a more easy conquest to Romulus, who made the most merciful use of his victory; instead of destroying their towns, or lessening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to serve as a frontier to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and, not content with a superiority of forces, he added stratagem also. Tarpeia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for, was what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or willing to punish her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines being thus possessed of the Capitoline, after some time a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days with almost equal success, and neither could think of submitting: it was in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirnal hills, that the last engagement was fought between the Romans and Sabines. The engagement was now become general, and the slaughter prodigious, when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them, to another; till at length the Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, with their hair loose, and their ornaments neglected, flew in between the combatants, regardless of their own danger, and with loud outcries implored their husbands and their children to desist. Upon this, the combatants, as if by mutual impulse,

let fall their weapons; an accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative, that an hundred Sabines should be admitted into the Senate, that the city should still retain its former name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines, and that both nations being thus united, such of the Sabines as chose it, should be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome. Tatius was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, for having protected some servants of his, who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch of Rome.

Successes like these produced an equal share of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and to govern those laws to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate was particularly displeased at his conduct, as they found themselves only used as instruments to ratify the rigor of his commands. We are not told the precise manner which they employed to get rid of the tyrant; some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army. Certain it is, that from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude that he was taken up into heaven; thus him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worship as a god. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple built to him under the name of Quirinus.

CHAP. III.

From the death of Romulus, to the death of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome.

[U. C. 38.]

UPON *the death of* Romulus, the city seemed greatly *divided in the choice of* a successor. The Sabines were for

having a king chosen from their body, but the Romans could not bear the thoughts of advancing a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity the senators undertook to supply the place of the king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government continued for a year, but the Plebeians, who saw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government. The senate being thus driven to an election, at length pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine; and their choice was received with universal approbation by the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his justice, moderation, and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabines, and lived at home at Cures, contented with a private fortune, unambitious of higher honours. It was not therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity, which, when he did, it produced such joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom.

No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united among each other: they wanted a master who could by his laws and precepts soften their fierce dispositions, and by his example induce them to a love of religion, and every milder virtue.

Numa's whole time therefore was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, instituted sacred offices and feasts, and the sanctity of his life gave him credit enough to persuade his people that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess Egeria. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war; he ordained vestal virgins, who, being four in number, had very great privileges allowed them.

For the encouragement of agriculture he divided those lands which Romulus had gained in war among the poorer part of the people; he regulated the calender, and abolished the distinction between Romans and Sabines, by

dividing the people according to their several trades, and compelling them to live together. Thus, having arrived at the age of four score years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a stone coffin, contrary to the custom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried by his side in another.

CHAP. IV.

From the death of Numa, to the death of Tullus Hostilius the third king of Rome.

[U. C. 82.]

UPON the death of Numa, the government once more devolved upon the senate, and continued till the people elected Tullus Hostillus for their king, which choice had also the concurrence of the other part of the constitution. This monarch, who was grandson to a noble Roman who had formerly signalized himself against the Sabines, was every way unlike his predecessor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprise, than even the founder of the empire himself had been; so that he only sought a pretext for leading his forces into the field.

The Albans were the first people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. The forces of these two states met about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms; for almost every battle in these times was decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful suspense, when an unexpected proposal from the Alban general put a stop to the onset. Stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the dispute by single combat; adding, that the side whose champion was overcome should submit to the conqueror. A proposal like this, suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his

subjects, each of which hoped that he himself should be chosen to fight the cause of his country. There were at this time three twin brothers in each army; those of the Romans were called Horatii, and those of the Albans Curiatii, all six remarkable for their courage, strength, and activity, and to these it was resolved to commit the management of the combat. At length the champions met in combat together: and each, totally regardless of his own safety, only sought the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, trembled at every blow, and wished to share the danger, till fortune seemed to decide the glory of the field. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare against the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, who were wounded, slowly endeavouring to pursue the survivor, who seemed by flight to beg for mercy. Soon however, they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to separate his antagonists, whom he was unable to oppose united; for, quickly after, stopping his course, and turning upon him who followed most closely behind, he laid him dead at his feet: the second brother, who came on to assist him who was fallen, only shared the same fate; and now there remained but the last Curiatius to conquer, who fatigued and quite disabled with his wounds, slowly came up to offer an easy victory. He was killed, almost unresisting, while the conqueror exclaiming, offered him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army consented to obey.

But none of the virtues of that age were without alloy: the very hand that in the morning was exerted to save his country, was before night imbrued in the blood of his sister. For, returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom she was betrothed. This provoked him beyond the power of sufferance, so that he slew her in a rage. This action greatly displeased the senate, and drew on the condemnation of the magistrates, but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Hostilius died, after a reign of thirty-two years; some *say by lightning*, others, with more probability, by treason,

CHAP. V.

From the death of Tullus Hostilius, to the death of Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome.

[U. C. 115.]

AFTER an interregnum, as in the former case, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice afterwards was confirmed by the senate. As this monarch was a lineal descendant from Numa, so he seemed to make him the great object of his imitation. He instituted the sacred ceremonies which where to precede a declaration of war; he took every occasion to advise his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to lay aside the less useful stratagems of war.

These institutions and precepts were considered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon his territories, but their success was equal to their justice. Ancus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volsci; and over the Sabines he obtained a second triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, making a prison for malefactors, and building a sea-port at the mouth of the Tyber, called Ostia, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river and that of the salt pits adjacent. Thus, having enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, he died after a reign of twenty-four years.

CHAP. VI.

From the death of Ancus Martius, to the death of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome.

[U. C. 138.]

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, whose original name was Lucumon, and who was appointed guardian to the sons of the late king, took the surname of Tarquinius from the city of Tarquinio, from whence he last came. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy upon account of some troubles at home. His son Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinio; and as his birth, profession, and country, were contemptible to the nobles of the place, by his wife's persuasion he came to settle at Rome, where merit only made distinction. On his way thither, say the historians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, stooping from above, took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for some time with much noise put it on again. This, his wife Tanaquil, who it seems was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage that he should one day wear the crown; and perhaps it was this which first fired his ambition to pursue it.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as usual devolving upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to get himself elected in their stead. For this purpose, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them sent out of the city: and in a set speech to the people, in which he urged his friendship for them, the fortune he had spent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect, and the people, with one consent *elected him as their* sovereign.

A kingdom, thus got by intrigue, was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompence his friends, he added an hundred members more to the senate, which made them in all three hundred.

But his peaceful endeavours were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed over the river Tyber; but Tarquin, attacking them with vigour, routed their army; so that many who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory even before the messengers could arrive that were sent with the tidings. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects corrupt in indolence, but undertook and perfected several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city.

In his time also, the augurs came into a great increase of reputation, and he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, as this was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the most celebrated adept of the kind that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occasion, Tarquin, being resolved to try the augur's skill, asked him whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected? Nævius having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why then," cries the king, with an insulting smile, "I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor." "Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thence forward nothing was undertaken in Rome without consulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation.

Tarquin was not content with a kingdom without also the *ensigns of royalty*. In imitation of the Lydian kings *he assumed a crown* of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre

with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the splendor of these royalties that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had now for above thirty-seven years quietly submitted to his government. His design also of adopting Servius Tullius, his son-in-law for his successor, might have contributed to inflame their resentment. Whatever was the cause of their tardy vengeance, they resolved to destroy him; and at last found means to effect their purpose, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to speak with the king, pretending that they came for justice, struck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors; however, who waited upon the person of the king, seized the murderers, who were attempting to escape: they were put to death; but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Priscus, to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name, aged fifty-six years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight.

CHAP. VII.

From the death of Tarquinius Priscus, to the death of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome.

[U. C. 179.]

THE report of the murder of Tarquin, filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter of the palace to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown, and desirous of having her son-in-law for his successor, with great art dissembled her sorrows as well as the king's death. She assured the people from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not *killed but stunned by* the blow; that he would shortly *recover; and that, in* the mean time, he had deputed his

power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, and went to dispatch some affairs, that related to the public safety, still pretending that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued for some days, till he had made his party good among the nobles; when the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius came to the crown, solely at the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people.

Servius was the son of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born whilst his mother was a slave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is said to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatness.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his reign was to increase the power of the senate, by depressing that of the people. The populace, who were unable to see into his designs, conferred upon him a full power of settling the taxes as he should think proper. And accordingly, as he insisted that they should pay their taxes by centuries, he commanded that they should give their votes in all public transactions by centuries also. In former deliberations each citizen gave his suffrage singly, and the numbers of the poor always carried it against the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the senate was made to consist of a greater number of centuries than all the other classes put together, and thus entirely outweighed them in every contention.

In order to ascertain the decrease or decay of his subjects and their fortunes, he instituted another regulation, which he called a lustrum. By this all the citizens were to assemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in their respective classes, once in five years, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune.

Having thus enjoyed a long reign, spent in settling the domestic policy of the state, and also not inattentive to foreign concerns, he conceived reasonable hopes of concluding it with tranquillity and ease. He had even thoughts of laying down his power, and, having formed

the kingdom, into a republic, to retire into obscurity; but so generous a design was frustrated ere it could be put into execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to secure his throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin; and as he knew that the women were of opposite dispositions as well as their intended husbands, he resolved to cross their tempers by giving them to him of a contrary turn of temper: her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by this he supposed that each would correct the failing of the other, and that the mixture would be productive of concord. The event however proved otherwise. Lucius, his haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his consort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife, who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their wishes were ungovernable, they soon resolved to break through every restraint that offered to prevent their union; both undertook to murder their consorts, which they effected, and were accordingly soon after married together. A first crime ever produces a second: from the destruction of their consorts they proceeded to conspiring that of the king. They began by raising factions against him, alledging his illegal title to the crown, and Lucius by claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. At length when he found the senate ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate house adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and, placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obscurity of the king's birth, and the injustice of his title. While he was yet speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old man down the steps which led to the throne; and some of his adherents, being instructed for that purpose, followed the king as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and dispatched him by the way, throwing his body, *all mangled and bleeding*, as a public spectacle into the *street. In the mean* time, Tullia, burning with impatience *for the event*, was informed of what her husband had done,

and resolving to be among the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the senate house: but as her charioteer approached the place where the old king her father's body lay exposed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman spectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horses, offered to turn another way: this only served to increase the fierceness of her anger; she threw the footstool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body without hesitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after an useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years.

CHAP. VIII.

From the death of Servius Tullius, to the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king of Rome.

[U. C. 220.]

LUCIUS Tarquinius, afterwards called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this violent attempt, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused the late king's body burial under pretence of his being an usurper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon this accession with detestation and horror; and this act of inefficient cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius to put to death; and fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard round his person.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. He first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience, and soon

reduced them to submission. He next began a war with the Volsci, which continued for some ages after. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for having attempted with some loss to besiege it, he was obliged to direct his efforts by stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, he so prevailed on the pity of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. At first, in every engagement he appeared successful, till at length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no other answer than by taking the messenger into the garden, where he cut down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of this reply, and, one by one, found means to destroy or remove the principal men of the city, still taking care to confiscate their effects among the people. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themselves at last without counsellors or head, and in the end fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow. After this he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that with the Etrurians.

But while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to continue in idleness at home. He undertook to build the capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman, in strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king offering to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the seller, or that she was in fact one of the celebrated Sybils, whose prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. Being once more despised as an impostor, she again departed, and burning three more, she returned with those remaining, still asking the same price as at first. Tarquin, sur-

prised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs, to advise him what to do. These much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to buy the three remaining at whatsoever price they were to be had. The woman, says the historian, after thus selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to have a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never seen after. Upon this he chose proper persons to keep them, who, though but two at first, were afterwards increased to fifteen under the name of quindecemviri. They were put into a stone chest, and a vault in the newly designed building was thought the properest place to lodge them in safety. The people having been four years together employed in building the capitol, began at last to wish for something new to engage them; wherefore Tarquin, to satisfy their wishes proclaimed war against the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained some malefactors whom he had banished, and invested their chief city, Ardea, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's son, Sextus, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some others, sat in a tent drinking together: the discourse happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praising his own, Collatinus offered to decide the dispute, by putting it to an immediate trial, whose wife should be found of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company: and taking horse without delay, they posted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like other women of her age, spending the time in ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception she gave her husband and his friends, so charmed them all, that they unanimously gave her the preference; and Sextus was so much inflamed, that nothing but enjoyment could satisfy his passion.

For that purpose he went from the camp to visit her privately a few days after, and received the same kind reception which he had met with before. As his intentions

were not suspected, Lucretia sat with him at supper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the house. Midnight was the time which this ruffian thought it safest to put his designs into execution. Having found means to convey himself into her chamber, he approached her bedside with a drawn sword, and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom, threatened her with instant death if she offered to resist his passion. Lucretia affrightened out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was yet inexorable to his desire, till being told, that, if she would not yield, he would first kill her and then laying his own slave also dead by her side, he would report that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The terror of infamy achieved what that of death could not obtain; she consented to his desire, and the next morning he returned to the camp exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself for the crime of another, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius her father, to come to her, as an indelible disgrace had befallen her family. These instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish; they found her in a state of stedfast desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief, "No, said she, never shall "I find any thing worth living for in this life after having "lost my honor. You see, my Collatinus, a polluted "wretch before you; one whose person has been the "spoil of another, but whose affections were never estranged from you. Sextus, under the pretended veil of "friendship, has this night forced from me that treasure "which death only can restore, but if you have the hearts "of men, avenge my cause, and let posterity know, that "she who has lost her virtue, hath only death for her best "consolation." So saying, she drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for some time fixed in sorrow, pity, and indignation; *Spurius and Collatinus* at length gave a vent to their grief in *tears; but Brutus* drawing the poignard reeking from Lu-

cretia's wound, and lifting it up towards heaven, "Be witness, ye gods," he cried, "that from this moment I pro-"claim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's cause: "from this moment I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin "and his lustful house; from henceforth this life, while life "continues, shall be employed in opposition to tyranny and "for the happiness and freedom of my much loved coun-"try." A new amazement seized the hearers, to find him, whom they had hitherto considered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of justice and of Rome. He told them, that tears and lamentations were unmanly when vengeance called so loud; and delivering the poignard to the rest, imposed the same oath upon them, which he himself had just taken.

Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus; and for that reason, through a motive of jealousy, was put to death by Tarquin the Proud. This Junius Brutus had received an excellent education from his father, and had, from nature, strong sense, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privately murdered his father and his eldest brother, he counterfeited himself a fool, in order to escape the same danger, and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin thinking his folly real, despised the man; and having possessed himself of his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house, merely with a view of making sport for his children.

Brutus, however, only waited this opportunity to avenge the cause of his family. Wherefore, ordering Lucretia's dead body to be brought out to view, and exposed in the public forum, he inflamed the ardour of the citizens by a display of the horrid transaction. He obtained a decree of the Senate, that Tarquin and his family should be for ever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or to attempt his future return. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Cira, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

CHAP. IX.

From the banishment of Tarquin, to the appointment of the first Dictator.

[U. C. 245.]

THE regal power being overthrown, a form of government nominally republican, was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called consuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus the husband of Lucretia, were chosen first consuls in Rome.

But this new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had like to have been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries of the court, undertook to re-establish monarchy. This party secretly increased every day; and, what may create our surprize, the sons of Brutus himself, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown, but in reality with a design to give spirit to his faction. But the whole conspiracy was discovered by a slave who had accidentally hid himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than that of Brutus, a father, placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children, impelled by justice to condemn, and by nature to spare them. The young men accused pleaded nothing *for themselves*, but with conscious guilt, awaited their

sentence in silence and agony. The other judges who were present, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repress his sentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity, and with a stern countenance, and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy resolution, demanded of his sons, if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three several times; but receiving no answer, he at length turned himself to the executioner: "Now," cried he, "it is your part to perform the rest." Thus saying, he again resumed his seat with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, nor all the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the complaints of the young men who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his resolution. The executioners having stripped them naked, and then whipped them with rods, presently after beheaded them: Brutus all the time beholding the cruel spectacle with a steady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the sensations of pity, terror, and admiration.

All Tarquin's hopes of an insurrection in the city in his favour being thus overthrown, he was now resolved to force himself upon his former throne by foreign assistance, and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to assist him, and with a considerable army advanced towards Rome.

The consuls were not remiss in preparations to oppose him. Valerius commanded the foot, and Brutus being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman borders. U. C. 246.

Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, seeing Brutus at a distance, was resolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day, before the engaging of the armies: wherefore, spurring on his horse, he made towards him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, singled out from the ranks to meet him, and both met with such rage, that, eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle claim-

ed the victory; in consequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city, while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. The siege was carried on with vigour; a furious attack was made upon the place; the two consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans, flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which, both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in the confusion. All now appeared lost and over, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as a centinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy, and assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him: when he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tyber, he swam back victorious to his fellow soldiers, and was received with just applause.

Still, however, Porsenna was determined upon taking the city; and though five hundred of his men were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits; and turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to take it by famine. The distress of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, still superior to that which had saved the city before, again procured its safety and freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, was resolved to rid his country of an enemy that so sorely continued to oppress it; and for this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, resolving to die or to kill the king. With this resolution he made up to the place where Porsenna was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended and brought back into the roy-

al presence. Upon Porsenna's demanding who he was, and the cause of so henious an action, Mutius, without reserve, informed him of his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that was burning upon the altar before him, "You see," cried he, "how little I regard the severest punishment your "cruelty can inflict upon me. A Roman knows not only "how to act, but to suffer: I am not the only person "you have to fear: three hundred Roman youths like "me, have conspired your destruction; therefore prepare "for their attempts." Porsenna, amazed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit though found in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace. These were readily accepted on their side, being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance also, as if the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tyber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. This magistrate, fearing the consequences of detaining her had her sent back: upon which Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to chuse such of the hostages of the opposite sex as she should think fit to attend her. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, chose only such as were under fourteen, alledging, that their tender age was least capable of sustaining the rigours of slavery.

Tarquin, by means of his son-in-law Manilius, once more stirred up the Latins to espouse his interest, and took the most convenient opportunity, when the Plebeians were at variance with the senators, concerning the payment of their debts. These refused to go to war unless their debts were remitted upon their return; so that the consuls, finding their authority insufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of state, but even *over the laws themselves*. To this the Plebeians readily

consented, willing to give up their own power for the sake of abridging that of their superiors In consequence of this, Largius was created the first dictator of Rome; for so was his high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. Thus the people, who could not bear to hear the name of king even mentioned, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of much greater power: so much do the names of things mislead us, and so little is any form of government irksome to people when it coincides with their prejudices.

CHAP. X.

From the creation of the first Dictator, to the election of the Tribunes of the People.

[U. C. 255.]

LARGIUS being now created dictator, entered upon his office surrounded with his lictors, and all the ensigns of ancient royalty, and seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, ordered the levies to be made in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magistrate whom they had invested with uncontrollable power, and peaceably went each to range himself under his respective standard. Thus going forth to oppose the enemy, he returned with his army, and before his six months were expired, laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

But, though for this time the people submitted to be led forth, yet they were resolved at last to free themselves from the yoke of their severe masters; and though they could not get their complaints redressed, yet they determined to fly from those whom they could not move to compassion. The complaints therefore continuing, they resolved to quit a city which gave them no shelter, and to form a new establishment without its limits. They therefore, under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius, Bellutus, retired to a mountain, from thence called

Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, within about three miles from Rome.

Upon the news of this defection the city was filled with tumult and consternation; those who wished well to the army made all the attempts they could to scale the walls in order to join it. The senate was not less agitated than the rest: some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the army to return home and declare their grievances, promising at the same time an oblivion of all that had passed.

This message not succeeding, Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion that the people were to be complied with.

It was therefore resolved to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. Ten commissioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators, and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the senate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of these ambassadors procured them a very respectable reception among the soldiers, and a long conference began between them. Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the spokesmen of the soldiery, aggravated their distresses with all that masculine eloquence which is the child of nature. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Menenius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian himself, a shrewd man, and who consequently knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to please the people, addressed them with that celebrated fable which is so finely told us by Livy. "In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with common consent, resolved to revolt against the belly; they knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning to night in its service, while the belly in the mean time lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours; *accordingly*, one and all, they agreed to befriend

it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morsel of meat though it were placed between them. Thus resolved, they all for some time shewed their spirit, and kept their word; but soon they found, that instead of mortifying the belly by these means, they only undid themselves; they languished for a while, and perceiving when too late, that it was owing to the belly that they had strength to work, or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimously cried out that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, before mentioned, withheld them; alledging, that though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard for the future against their resentment; that therefore it was necessary for the security of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themselves, who should have power to give such of them as should be injured redress, and plead the cause of the community.

The people, who are ever of opinion with the last speaker, highly applauded this proposal; which yet the commissioners had not power to comply with; they therefore sent to Rome to take the instructions of the senate, who, worried with divisions among themselves, and harassed by complaints from without, were resolved to have peace at whatsoever price it should be obtained; accordingly as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of their new officers, who were called *Tribunes of the People*, Appius alone protesting with vehemence against the measure.

The tribunes of the people were at first five in number, though afterwards their body was increased to five more they were always annually elected by the people, and almost always from their body. They at first had their seats placed before the door of the senate-house, and being called in, they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto*, *I forbid it*; or confirming it by *signing the letter T*, which gave it its validity. This new office being thus instituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Ju-

nus, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga, were the first tribunes chosen by the suffrages of the people. The senate also made an edict confirming the abolition of debts; and now all things being adjusted, both on the one side and the other, the people after having sacrificed to the gods of the mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

CHAP. XI.

From the creation of the Tribunes, to the appointment of the Decemviri.

[U. C. 260.]

DURING the late separation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence the ensuing season. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians, who having purchased all the corn, as was alledged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts, by selling it out to great advantage. But abundance soon after appeased them for a time. A large fleet of ships laden with corn from Sicily, (a great part of which was a present from Gelon, the king of that country, to the Romans, and the rest purchased by the senate with the public money) raised their spirits once more.

But Coriolanus incurred their resentment, by insisting that it should not be distributed till the grievances of the senate were removed. For this the tribunes summoned him to a trial before the people.

When the appointed day was come all persons were filled with the greatest expectations, and a vast concourse from the adjacent country assembled and filled up the forum. Coriolanus upon this presented himself before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful person, his persuasive eloquence, the

cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. But being unable to answer what was alledged against him to the satisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with a new charge of having embezzled the plunder of Antium, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

This sentence against their bravest defender struck the whole body of the senate with sorrow, consternation, and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midst of the tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the most respectable senators and citizens of Rome, to take a lasting leave of his wife, his children and his mother, Veturia. Thus recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of heaven, he left the city without followers or fortune, to take refuge with Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volscians, who took him under his protection, and espoused his quarrel.

The first thing to be done, was to induce the Volsci to break the league which had been made with Rome, and for this purpose Tullus sent many of his citizens thither, in order to see some games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the senate private information that the strangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the desired effect; the senate issued an order, that all strangers, whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sunset. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed, declaring war in case of a refusal; but this message was treated by the senate with contempt.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the Plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. In the mean time the levies went on but slowly at Rome. The *two consuls, who* were re-elected by the people, seemed *but little skilled in* war, and even feared to encounter a

general whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also shewed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours; so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after the other. Fortune followed him in every expedition; and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. It was then that the senate and the people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him with proposals of restoration, in case he should draw off his army. Coriolanus received their proposals at the head of his principal officers, and with the sternness of a general that was to give the law refused their offers.

Another embassy was now sent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and severe, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them but three days, in which to finish their deliberations. In this exigence, all that was left was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former composed of the pontiffs the priests, and the augurs. These, cloathed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror; but all in vain; they found him severe and inflexible as before.

When the people saw them return ineffectually, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, prostrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentation; nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distress. At length it was suggested to them, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the adjuration of the priests, might be brought about by the tears of his wife, or the commands of his mother. This deputation seemed to be relished by all; *and even* the senate itself gave it the sanc*tion of their authority*. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus

at first made some hesitation to undertake so pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and fearing only to shew his disobedience in a new point of light, by rejecting the commands of a parent: however, she at last undertook the embassy, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mournful train of females, was resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him to be witnesses of his resolution; but when told that his mother and his wife were among the number, he instantly came down from his tribunal to meet and embrace them. At first, the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words; and the rough soldier himself, hard as he was, could not refrain from sharing in their distress. Coriolanus now seemed much agitated by contending passions; while his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence, her tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity; while her fair train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress. Coriolanus for a moment was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination; at length, as if roused from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O my mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son." He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers that the city was too strong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome upon the retreat of the Volscian army; but they were clouded soon after by the intrigues of Spurius Cassius, who, wanting to make himself despotic by means of the people, was found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the constitution, and was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian rock, by* those very people whose interests he *had endeavoured to* extend.

The year following, the two consuls of the former year Manlius and Fabius, were cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law, which had been proposed some time before, for equally dividing the lands of the commonwealth among the people, was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off.

It seems, the Agrarian law was a grant the senate could not think of giving up to the people. The consuls therefore made many delays and excuses, till at length they were once more obliged to have recourse to a dictator, and they fixed upon Quintus Cincinnatus, a man, who had for some time given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the mean attire of a labouring husbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addresses of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified rather a concern that his aid should be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement to the fatiguing splendors of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Attilla, that for this year "our little fields must remain unsown." Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. However, he was resolved to side with neither: but by a strict attention to the interests of his country, instead of gaining the confidence of faction to seize the esteem of all. Thus by threats, and well timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himself so as to be a terror to the multitude whenever they refused to enlist; and their greatest encourager, whenever their submisson deserved it. Thus having restored that tranquility to the people which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendors of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater relish in his little farm.

Cincinnatus was not long retired from his office when a fresh exigence of the state once more required his assistance; the Æqui and the Volsci, who, though still worsted, still were for re- U. C. Vol. 295.

renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them: but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than desirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify, by which the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some knights who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of this disaster to Rome. Nothing could exceed the consternation of all ranks of people when informed of it: the senate at first thought of the other consul; but not having sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolved to make him dictator. Cincinnatus, the only person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the messengers of the senate, labouring in his little field with cheerful industry. He was at first astonished at the ensigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to invest him; but still more at the approach of the principal of the senate, who came out to meet him. A dignity so unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity or the integrity of his manners: and being now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man named Tarquitius, one who like himself despised riches when they led to dishonour. Thus the saving a great nation was devolved upon an husbandman taken from the plough, and an obscure centinel found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a serene look, and entreated all those who were able to bear arms to repair before sunset to the Campus Martius (the place where the levies were made) with necessary arms and provisions for five days. He put himself at the head of these, and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day with in sight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his soldiers to *raise a loud shout*, to apprise the consul's army of the relief *that was at hand*. The Æqui were not a little amazed

when they saw themselves between two enemies, but still more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the strongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their escape, and inclosing them as they had enclosed the consul. To prevent this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æqui being attacked on both sides, and unable to resist or fly, begged a cessation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms; he gave them their lives; but obliged them, in token of servitude, to pass under the yoke, which was two spears set upright, and another across, in form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquished were to march. Their captains and generals he made prisoners of war, being reserved to adorn his triumph. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own soldiers, without reserving any part for himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to have a share. Thus having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he resigned his dictatorship after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, chusing to retire once more to his farm and cottage, content with temperance and fame.

But this repose from foreign invasion did not lessen the tumults of the city within. The clamours for the Agrarian law still continued, and still more fiercely, when Siccius Dentatus a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable person and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier made no scruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth: but indeed his merits supported ostentation. He had served his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty, first a centurion, and then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles; in which by the force of his single arm, he had saved a multitude of lives; he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, besides eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eighteen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in single combat; moreover, he had received forty-five wounds all before, and none behind. These were his honours; yet notwith-

standing all this, he had never received any share of those lands which were won from the enemy, but continued to draw on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or ever having contributed to the conquest. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude; they unanimously demanded that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it; their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reason therefore could no longer be heard, passion as usual succeeded; and the young patricians running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. For this they were some time afterwards fined by the tribunes, but their resolution nevertheless for the present, put off the Agrarian law.

CHAP. XII.

From the creation of the Decemviri, to the extinction of that office.

[U. C. 302.]

THE commonwealth of Rome had now for near sixty years been fluctuating between the contending orders that composed it, till at length each side, as if weary, were willing to respire a while from the mutual exertions of their claims. The citizens, now therefore of every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs as well as punish them. In this, both the senate and the people concurred, as hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions that so long had harassed the state. It was thereupon agreed that ambassadors should be sent to *the Greek cities in* Italy, and to Athens, to bring home *such laws from thence*, as by experience had been found *most equitable* and useful. For this purpose three sena-

tors, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and gallies assigned to convoy them agreeable to the majesty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commission abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and supplied the interval of their absence with other anxiety than that of wishes for their return. In about a year the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned, bringing home a body of laws collected from the most civilized states of Greece and Italy, which being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called the laws of the Twelve Tables, many fragments of which remain to this day.

The ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the tribunes required that a body of men should be chosen to digest their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debates whether this choice should not be partly made from the people as well as the partricians, it was at last agreed that ten of the principal senators should be elected, whose power, continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and that without any appeal. The persons chosen were Appius, and Genutius, who had been elected consuls for the ensuing year; Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambassadors; Sextus and Romulus, former consuls; with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius, senators of the first consideration. Thus the whole constitution of the state at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation by laws formed from the manners and customs of another.

The decemviri, being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each should dispense justice for a day.

These magistrates for the first year wrought with extreme application; and their work being finished, it was expected that they would be contented to give up their offices; but having known the charms of power, they were now unwilling to resign it; they therefore pretended that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance of their offices; to which that *body* assented.

But they soon threw off the mask of moderation, and

regardless either of the approbation of the senate or the people, resolved to continue themselves, against all order, in the decemvirate. A conduct so notorious produced discontents, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny. The city was become almost a desert with respect to all who had any thing to lose, and the decemvir's rapacity was then only discontinued, when they wanted fresh objects to exercise it upon. In this state of slavery, proscription and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom; these tyrants continued to rule without controul, being constantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the Æqui and Volsci, those constant enemies of the Romans, undertook their incursions, resolved to profit by the intestine divisions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

But the decemviri being put in possession of all the military, as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the Æqui, and the other against the Sabines. The Roman soldiers had now got into a method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice on this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome than the tidings of this defeat; the generals as is always the case, were blamed for the treachery of their men, some demanded that they should be deposed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conquest; but among the rest, old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness; and treating the generals with contempt, shewed all the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius in the mean time was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people. Dentatus *in particular* was marked out for vengeance, and *under pretence of doing* him particular honor, he was ap-

pointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies which were sent from Rome to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held sacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general with the reverence due to the priesthood. Dentatus, no way suspecting his design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was appointed at the head of an hundred men to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders that their present situation was wrong. The soldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were assassins; wretches who had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all those apprehensions, which his reputation as he was called the Roman Achilles, might be supposed to inspire. With these designs they led him from the way into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus now too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could: he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himself against those who pressed most closely. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and wounded thirty with his own hand. The assassins now therefore terrified at his amazing bravery, showered in their javelins upon him at a distance, all which he received in his shield with undaunted resolution. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till at length his assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock against which he stood, and thus poured down stones upon him from above. This succeeded, the old soldiers fell beneath their united efforts, after having shewn, by his death, that he owed it to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off so many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the first military honors; but the greatness of their apparent distress, compared with their

known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people.

But a transaction still more atrocious than the former served to inspire the citizens with a resolution to break all measures of obedience, and at last to restore freedom. Appius, who still remained at Rome, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a maiden of exquisite beauty, and aged about fifteen, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. The charms of this damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful than before, and his breast still more inflamed. He now therefore resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion whatever should be the consequence, and found means to inform himself of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia: she was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the present campaign. Appius at first resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the Twelve Tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians; and he could not infringe these, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing therefore remained but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long used to the indulgence of his passions, he resolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient still more guilty. He pitched upon one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasures, to assert the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to his tribunal for decision. Claudius behaved exactly according to his instructions, for entering into the school where Virginia was playing among her female companions, he seized upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, but was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries.

At length, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. He asserted that she was born in his house of a female slave, who sold her to the wife of Virginius, who had been barren; that he

had several credible evidences to prove the truth of what he said: but that until they could come together, it was reasonable the slave should be delivered into his custody, being her proper master. Appius seemed to be struck with the justice of his claims: he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for some time, but that it was not lawful for him in the present case to detain her from her lawful master. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his slave, to be kept by him till Virginius should be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude: the women in particular came round the innocent Virginia, as if willing to protect her from the judge's fury, while Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Virginius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial, and in the mean time Appius sent letters to the generals to confine Virginius, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. These letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who sent him down a full relation of the design laid against the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginius upon this pretending the death of a near relation, got permission to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly the next day, he appeared before the tribunal, to the astonishment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, the accuser, was also there, and began by making his demand. Virginius next spoke in turn; he represented that his wife had many children: that she had been seen pregnant by numbers; that if he had intentions of adopting a suppositious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all that his wife had herself suckled her own child; and that it was surprising such a claim should be now revived after a fifteen years discontinuance.

While the father spoke this with a stern air, Virginia stood trembling by, and with looks of persuasive innocence, added weight to all his remonstrances. The people seemed entirely satisfied of the hardship of his case, till Appius, fearing what he said might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause. "Yes," says he, "my conscience obliges me to declare, that I "myself am witness to the truth of the deposition of Claudi- "us. Most of this assembly know, that I was left guar- "dian to this youth; and I was very early apprized that "he had a right to this young woman; but the affairs of "the public, and the dissentions of the people, then pre- "vented me doing him justice. However, it is not now "too late: and, by the power vested in me for the public "good, I adjudge Virginia to be the property of Claudi- "us, the plaintiff. Go therefore lictors, disperse the "multitude, and make room for a master to repossess "himself of his slave." The lictors, in obedience to his command, soon drove off the throng that pressed round the tribunal; and now they seized upon Virginia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. He therefore mildly entreated Appius to be permitted to take a last farewell of one whom he had long considered as his child, and so satisfied, he would return to his duty with fresh alacrity. With this the decemvir complied, but upon condition that their endearments should pass in his presence. Virginius, with the most poignant anguish, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms, for a while supported her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely visage; and happening to be near the shops that surrounded the Forum, he snatched up a knife that lay on the shambles, and addressing his daughter, "My dearest lost child," cried he, "this, this alone can preserve your honour and your freedom." So saying, he buried the weapon in her breast, and then holding it up reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Appius," he cried, "by "*this blood* of innocence, I devote thy head to the infer- "*nal gods*" Thus saying, with the bloody knife in his *hand, and threatening* destruction to whomsoever should

oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to strike for freedom, and from thence went to the camp, in order to spread a like flame through the army.

He no sooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, but he informed the army of all that was done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of their gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it all to the dreadful necessity of the times. The army, already predisposed, immediately with shouts echoed their approbation; and decamping, left their generals behind to take their station once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other, which had been to oppose the Sabines, seemed to feel a like resentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Appius in the mean time did all he could to quell the disturbances in the city; but finding the tumult incapable of controul, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, at first attempted to find safety by flight; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment of all deserters. The senate, however, were far from giving the relief he sought for; they foresaw the dangers and miseries that threatened the state in case of opposing the incensed army; they therefore dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government. To this proposal all the people joyfully assented, and the army gladly obeyed, now returning to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure of a triumphant entry. Appius, and Oppius one of his colleagues, both died by their own hands in prison. The other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven out after them.

In the mean time, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volsci still continued; *and as each year some* trifling advantages were obtained *over the Romans, they* at last advanced so far as to *make their incursions* to the very walls of Rome.

But not the courage only of the Romans seem-
U. C. ed diminished by these conquests, but their other
309. virtues also, particularly their justice. About this time the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a contest between themselves about some lands that had long been claimed by both. At length, being unable to agree, they referred it to the senate and the people of Rome. The senate had yet some of the principles of primitive justice remaining, and refused to determine the dispute. But the people readily undertook the decision; and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring that these very lands of right belonged to Rome, they immediately voted themselves to be the legal possessors, and sent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injustice.

The tribunes now grew more turbulent; they proposed two laws, one to permit Plebeians to intermarry with Patricians, and the other to permit them to be admitted to the consulship also. The senators received these proposals with indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremities rather than submit to enact them. However, finding their resistance only to increase the commotions of the state, they at last consented to pass the law concerning marriages, hoping that this concession would satisfy the people. But they were to be appeased but for a very short time; for returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist upon the approach of an enemy, the consuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate, where, after many debates, Claudius proposed an expedient as the most probable means of satisfying the people in the present conjuncture. This was to create six or eight governors in the room of consuls, whereof one half at least should be patricians. This project, which was in fact granting what the people demanded, pleased, the whole meeting; and it was agreed, that at the next public meeting of the senate, the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator. Upon assembling the senate, one of the tribunes accused them of *holding secret meetings*, and managing dangerous designs against *the people*. The consuls, on the other hand, averred *their innocence*; and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave

any of the younger members of the house leave to propound their opinions. These remaining silent, such of the older senators as were known to be popular, began by observing that the people ought to be indulged in their request, that none so well deserved power as those who were most instrumental in gaining it, and that the city could not be free, until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius spoke next, and broke out into bitter invectives against the people, asserting that it was his opinion that the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance among the plebeians; at length, Genutius proposed, as had been preconcerted, that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority, three from the senate, and three from the people, and that when the time of their magistracy should be expired, then it would be seen whether they should have the same office continued, or whether the consulship should be established upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people; yet so fickle were the multitude, that though many of the plebeians stood, the choice wholly fell upon the patricians, who offered themselves as candidates. These new magistrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at first but three, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They had the power and ensigns of consuls; yet that power being divided among a number, each singly was of less authority. The first that were chosen only continued in office about three months, the augurs having found something amiss in the ceremonies of their election. U. C. 310.

The military tribunes being deposed, the consuls once more came into office; in order to lighten the weight of business which they were obliged to sustain, a new office was erected, namely, that of Censors, to be chosen every fifth year. Their business was to take an estimate of the number and estates of the people, and to distribute them into their proper classes; to inspect into the lives and manner of their fellow citizens; to degrade senators for misconduct; to dismount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior in case of misdemeanor. The two first censors were Papirius and Sem-

phronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for near an hundred years.

This new creation served to restore peace for some time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volscians by Gaganius the consul, added to the universal satisfaction that reigned among the people.

This calm, however was but of a short continuance; for, some time after, a famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed; and these as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The consuls were accused of neglect in not having laid in proper quantities of corn; they however disregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates in providing and distributing provisions to the poor, yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had purchased up all the corn of Tuscany, by far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by the contentions in the state, distributed corn in greater quantities among the poorer sort each day, till his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus gained a sufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night, and formed a conspiracy by which he was to obtain the command, while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him in seizing the liberties of his country. Minucius soon discovered the plot; and informing the senate thereof, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger. He began by summoning Mælius to appear, who refused to obey. He next sent Ahala, the master of his horse, to force him; who, meeting him in the Forum, and pressing Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refusal, Ahala killed him on the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer, and commanded the

U. C. 313.

conspirator's goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished, distributing his stores among the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and, in order to punish the senate at the next election, instead of consuls, insisted upon restoring their military tribunes. With U. C. this the senate were obliged to comply. The 315. next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and consuls were chosen.

The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal distresses to ravage its territories, and had even threatened its ambassadors, sent to complain of these injuries, with outrage. It seemed now therefore, determined that the city of Veii, whatever it should cost, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly sat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful resistance. The strength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the siege, which lasted for ten years; during which time the army continued encamped round it, lying in winter under tents made of the skins of beasts, and in summer driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the success, and many were the commanders that directed the siege; sometimes all the besiegers' works were destroyed, and many of their men cut off by sallies from the town, sometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring assistance from without. A siege so bloody seemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itself, by draining its forces continually away; so that a law was obliged to be made for all the bachelors to marry the widows of the soldiers who were slain. In order to carry it on with greater vigour, Furius Camillus was created dictator, and to him was entrusted the sole power of managing the long protracted war. Camillus, who, without intrigue or any solicitation, had raised himself to the first eminence in the state, had been made one of the censors some time before, and was considered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this post gained several advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and abilities in the above offices that made him thought most worthy to serve his country on this *pressing* occasion. Upon his appointment, unan-

bers of people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he secretly wrought a mine into it with vast labour, which opened into the midst of the citadel. Certain thus of success, and finding the city incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring that all who chose to share in the plunder of the Veii should immediately repair to the army. Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and consternation of the besieged, who but a moment before had rested in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of Veii taken after a ten years siege, and with its spoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus himself, transported with the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk white horses; a distinction which did not fail to disgust the majority of the spectators, as they considered those as sacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

His usual good fortune attended Camillus in another expedition against the Falisci; he routed their army, and besieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous resistance. The reduction of this little place would have been scarce worth mentioning in this scanty page, were it not for an action of the Roman general, that has done him more credit with posterity than all his other triumphs united. A schoolmaster, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. The general was struck with the treachery of a wretch whose duty it was to protect innocence and not betray it: he for some time regarded the traitor with a stern air, but at last finding words, "Execrable villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable proposals to creatures "like thyself, and not to me; what though we be enemies "of your city, yet there are natural ties that bind all "*mankind, which* should never be broken: there are du-"*ties required from* us in war as well as in peace; we

" fight not against an age of innocence but against men of
" men who have used us ill indeed, but yet whose crimes
" are virtues when compared to thine. Against such base
" arts let it be my duty to use only Roman arts, the
" arts of valour and of arms." So saying, he immediately ordered him to be stript, his hands tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner to be whipped into the town by his own scholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do: the magistrates of the town immediately submitted to the senate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their surrender, who only fined them a sum of money to satisfy the army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithstanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they seemed but little adapted to bring over the turbulent tribunes at home, as they raised some fresh accusation against him every day. To the charge of being an opposer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates for his own use, and appointed him a day on which to appear before the people. Camillus finding the multitude exasperated against him upon many accounts, detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to wait the ignominy of a trial, but embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended on his way, and unlamented. There he could suppress his indignation no longer, but turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, entreated all the gods that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude; and so saying, he past forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses by the tribunes at home.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistence of one who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make its appearance than the Romans had ever yet encountered. *The Gauls*, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries

before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate. Wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants, as they were men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The inhabitants of Clusium, frightened at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or, at least, the mediation of the Romans. The senate, who had long made it a maxim never to refuse succour to the distressed, were willing previously to send ambassadors to the Gauls to dissuade them from their enterprize, and to shew the injustice of the irruption. Accordingly, three young senators were chosen out of the family of the Fabii to manage the commission, who seemed more fitted to the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance that argued but little of the barbarian; and desiring to know the business of their embassy, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make war but on just grounds of provocation, and that they desired to know what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their swords; that the Romans themselves had no right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they refused to part with those lands which they had neither hands to till nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were but little used to the language of a conqueror, for a while dissembled their resentment at this haughty reply; but upon entering the besieged city, instead of acting as ambassadors, and forgetful of their sacred characters, headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered while he was despoiling him of his armour. A conduct so unjust and unbecoming excited the resentment of Brennus, who having made his complaint by an herald

to the senate, and finding no redress, immediately broke up the siege, and marched away with his conquering army directly to Rome.

The countries though which the Gauls passed in their rapid progress gave up all hopes of safety upon their approach; being terrified at their vast numbers, the fierceness of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuosity of this wild people were directed only against Rome. They went on without doing the least injury in their march, still breathing vengeance only against the Romans; and a terrible engagement soon after ensued, in which the Romans were defeated near the river Allia, with the loss of near forty thousand men.

Rome thus deprived of all succour prepared for every extremity. The inhabitants endeavoured to hide themselves in some of the neighbouring towns, or resolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient senators and priests, struck with religious enthusiasm on this occasion, resolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and habited in the robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the Forum on their ivory chairs. The Gauls in the mean time were giving a loose to their triumph in sharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies' camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the capitol itself had been taken; but they continued two days feasting themselves upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered enemies. On the third day after the victory, the easiness of which much amazed the Gauls, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions he entered the city, and, marching into the Forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable *looks of these* old men, who had all, in their *time, borne the highest* offices of the state, awed the bar-

barous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand to stroke the beard of Papyrius; an insult the noble Roman could not endure, but lifting up his ivory sceptre, struck the savage to the ground. This seemed as a signal for general slaughter. Papyrius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. Thus the fierce invaders pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age, and then setting fire to the city, burnt every house to the ground.

U C. 364. All hopes of Rome were now placed in the capitol; every thing without that fortress was but an extensive scene of misery, desolation, and despair. Brennus first summoned it, with threats, to surrender, but in vain; he then resolved to besiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. Nevertheless the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery; despair had supplied them with that perseverance and vigour which they seemed to want when in prosperity.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the siege with extreme ardour. He hoped, in time, to starve the garrison into a capitulation; but they, sensible of his intent, although they were in actual want, caused several loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of such expectations. His hopes failing in this, were soon after revived, when some of his soldiers came to inform him that they had discovered some footsteps which led up the rock, and by which they supposed the capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous service, which they with great labour and difficulty almost effected; they were now got upon the very wall; the Roman sentinel was fast asleep; their dogs within gave no signal, and all promised an instant victory, when the garrison was awaked by the gabbling of some sacred geese that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The besieged soon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each snatched *the weapon* he could instantly find, ran to oppose the *assailants. Manlius*, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, *was the first who exerted* all his strength, and inspi-

red courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and, at one effort, threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others soon came to his assistance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy in a space of time shorter than that employed in the recital.

From this time forward the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers had often conferences with the besieged while upon duty, and the proposals for an accommodation were wished for by the common men before the chiefs thought of a congress. At length the commanders on both sides came to an agreement that the Gauls should immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thousand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either side, the gold was brought forth; but, upon weighing, the Gauls fraudulently attempted to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply the Romans saw that they were at the victors' mercy, and knew it was in vain to expostulate against any conditions he should be pleased to impose. But in this very juncture, and while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a large army, hastening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared soon after, and entering the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, demanded the cause of the contest; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the capitol, "For it has ever been," (cried he) "the manner of us Romans to ransom our country, not "with gold, but with iron; it is I only that am to make "peace, as being the dictator of Rome, and my sword "alone shall purchase it." Upon this a battle ensued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and such a slaughter followed, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus was Rome, by the bravery of Camillus, cleared of its foes.

The city being one continued heap of ruins, except the

capitol, and the greatest number of its former inhabitants having gone to take refuge in Veii, the tribunes of the people urge for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion Camillus attempted to appease them with all the arts of persuasion, observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove to and inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these and such like remonstrances he prevailed upon the people to go contentedly to work; and Rome soon began to rise from its ashes.

We have already seen the bravery of Manlius in defending the capitol, and saving the last remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him an house near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and having appointed him a public fund for his support. But he aspired at being not only equal to Camillus but to be sovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his discourses or his designs, and created Cornelius Cossus dictator, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator soon finished an expedition against the Volscians by a victory; and upon his return called Manlius to an account for his conduct. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace to be affected by the power of Cossus, who was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph through the city. This success only served to inflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a division of the lands among the people; insinuated that there should be no distinctions in the state; and, to give weight to his discourses, always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition *and clamour*, the senate had recourse to another expedient, *and to oppose* the power of Camillus to that of the *demagogue*. Camillus accordingly being made one of

the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to answer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the capitol, where, when he was accused of sedition, and of aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had there done for his country. The multitude, whose compassion, or whose justice seldom springs from rational motives, refused to condemn him, while he pleaded in sight of the capitol: but when he was brought from thence to the Peteline grove, and where the capitol was no longer to be seen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus the place which had been the theatre of his glory become that of his punishment and infamy. His house, in which his conspiracies had been secretly carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground, and his family were forbidden ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

In this manner, therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and successful enterprises without. With what an implicit obedience they submitted to their pontiffs, we have already seen in many instances, and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itself at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about this time, who, upon the opening of a gulf in the Forum, which the augurs affirmed would never close up till the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it, this heroic man leaped with his horse and armour boldly into the midst, saying, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue. The gulf, say the historians, closed immediately upon this, and Curtius was never seen after. U. C. 392.

CHAP. XIII.

From the wars of the Samnites, and the wars with Pyrrhus, to the beginning of the first Punic war, when the Romans first went out of Italy.

THE Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volscians, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about an hundred miles east from the city, descended from the Sabines, and inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at this day makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls, to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between the rival states.

Valerius was one of the greatest commanders of his time; he was surnamed Corvus, from a strange circumstance of being assisted by a crow in a single combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul of a gigantic stature. To his colleague's care it was consigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemy's capital, while Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was captain more fitted for command than he. To an habit naturally robust and athletic, he joined the gentlest manners; he was the fiercest, and yet the most good natured man in the army; and, while the meanest centinel was his companion, no man kept them more strictly to their duty: but what completes his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his dignities by the same arts by which he gained them. Such soldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adversity, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the bravest men they ever yet encountered; and the contention between the two nations was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But *the fortune of* Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length *fled, averring that* they were not able to withstand the *fierce looks and the* fire-darting eyes of the Romans. The

other consul, however, was not at first so fortunate; for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, possessed himself of a hill which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites being attacked on either side, were defeated with great slaughter; no less than thirty thousand of them being left dead upon the field of battle.

Some time after this victory, the soldiers, who were stationed at Capua, mutinying, forced Quintius, an old and eminent soldier, who was then residing in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at their gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him forth with another army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes. Any other general but Corvus would perhaps have brought this civil war to an extremity; but he, knowing his influence among the soldiery, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to embrace and expostulate with his old acquaintances. His conduct had the desired effect. Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have their defection from their duty forgiven; and as for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to solicit pardon for his offences. Thus this defection which at first threatened such dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whose ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies.

A war between the Romans and the Latins followed soon after; but as their habits, arms, and language were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders therefore were issued by Manlius, the consul, that no soldier should leave his ranks upon whatever provocation, and that he should certainly be put to death who should offer to do otherwise. *With these injunctions* both armies were drawn out in array, *and ready to begin*, when Metius, the general of the

enemy's cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier offering to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the consul's own son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled out against his adversary. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while, suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to rise; and then despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the consul his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement. Howsoever he might have been applauded by his fellow soldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he should find from his father, he came with hesitation to lay the enemy's spoils at his feet, and with a modest air insinuated, that what he did was entirely from a spirit of hereditary virtue. But he was soon dreadfully made sensible of his error, when his father turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. There, being brought forward, the consul, with a stern countenance, and yet with tears, spoke as follows: "Titus Manlius, as "thou hast regarded neither the dignity of the consul-"ship, nor the commands of thy father, as thou hast de-"stroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of disobe-"dience by thy example, thou hast reduced me to that "deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son or my coun-"try. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful alterna-"tive: a thousand lives were well lost in such a cause: nor "do I think that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when "thy country is to reap the advantage of thy sufferings. "Go, lictor, bind him, and let his death be our future ex-"ample." The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural mandate; fear for a while kept them in silence; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they

could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress.

In the mean time the battle joined with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily strength; the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed only to require the protection of their deities to turn the scale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distress, the commander of that part should devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the immortal gods Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both sides fought for some time with doubtful success, as their courage was equal; but after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to save his army. Thus determined, he called to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his instructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his directions therefore, being clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods, for the safety of Rome Then arming himself, and mounting on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of his enemies, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds In the mean time the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner as an assurance of success; nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution; a total rout began to ensue; the Romans pressed them on every side; and so great was the carnage, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat. This was the last battle of any consequence that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace upon hard conditions; and two years after, their strongest city P

dum being taken, they were brought under an entire submission to the Roman power

U C. 431. A signal disgrace which the Romans sustained about this time in their contests with the Samnites, made a pause in their usual good fortune, and turned the scale for a while in the enemies favour. The senate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius their general was resolved to gain by stratagem what he had frequently lost by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlets, he sent ten of his soldiers habited like shepherds, with directions to throw themselves in the way the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wishes the Roman consul met them, and, taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they, with seeming indifference replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually besieging it. The Roman general, not suspecting the stratagem that was laid against him, marched directly by the shortest road, which lay through the defiles, to relieve the city, and was not undeceived, till he saw his army surrounded and blocked up on every side. Pontius, thus having the Romans entirely in his power, first obliged the army to pass under the yoke, having been previously stript of all but their garments; he then stipulated that they should wholly quit the territories of the Samnites, and that they should continue to live upon terms of former confederacy. The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua disarmed, half naked, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was most surprisingly afflicted at their shameful return; nothing but grief and resentment was to be seen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

But this was a transitory calamity; the state had suffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. The war was carried on as usual for many years: the power of the Samnites declining every day, while that of the Romans gathered fresh confidence from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Cursor, who was at different times consul and dictator, repeated triumphs were gained,

Fabius Maximus also had his share in the glory of conquering them; and Decius, the son of that Decius whom we saw devoting himself for his country, about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, rushing into the midst of the enemy, saved the lives of his countrymen with the loss of his own

The Samnites being thus driven to the most extreme distress, as they were unable to defend themselves, they were obliged to call in the assistance of a foreign power, and have recourse to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin. Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition, and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predecessor, before his eyes, promised to come to their assistance: and in the mean time dispatched over a body of three thousand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator Demosthenes. Nor did he himself remain long behind, but soon after put to sea with three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence However, only a small part of these great preparations arrived in Italy with him, for many of his ships were dispersed, and some were totally lost in a tempest. Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people he came to succour; for observing a total dissolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainments shut up, and that they should be restrained in all such amusements as rendered soldiers unfit for battle. In the mean time the Romans did all that prudence could suggest to oppose so formidable an enemy; and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous army to interrupt his progress. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, drew out to meet him; but previously sent an ambassador, desiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum To this Lævinus returned for answer, that he neither esteemed him as a mediator, nor feared *him as an enemy*; and then leading the ambassador *through the Roman camp*, desired him to observe diligent-

ly what he saw, and to report the result to his master. In consequence of this, both armis approaching pitched their tents in sight of each other upon the opposite banks of the river Lyris. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the situation of his own camp, and in observing that of the enemy. It was there, that walking along the banks of the river, and surveying the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to observe, "That these barbarians seemed to be no way barbarous, "and he should too soon find their actions equal to their "resolution." In the mean time ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in case they should attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the consul, with an impetuosity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for passing the river where it was fordable; and the advanced guard, having attempted to oppose him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus being apprised of the enemies attempt, at first hoped to cut off their cavalry before they could be reinforced by the foot that were not as yet got over, and led on in person a chosen body of horse against them. The Roman legions having with much difficulty advanced across the river, the engagement became general; the Greeks fought with a consciousness of their former fame, and the Romans with a desire of gaining fresh glory. Mankind had never before seen two such differently disciplined armies opposed to each other, nor is it to this day determined whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in suspense; the Romans had seven times repulsed the enemy, and were as often driven back themselves, but at length, while the success seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus sent his elephants into the midst of the engagement, and these turned the scale of victory in his favour. The Romans who had never before seen creatures of such magnitude were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceness, but the castles that were built upon their backs filled with armed men. It was then that Pyrrhus saw the day was his own: and sending in his Thessalian cavalry to charge the enemy in disorder, the rout became general. A dreadful

slaughter of the Romans ensued, fifteen thousand men being killed on the spot, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners. Nor were the conquerors in much better state than the vanquished, Pyrrhus himself being wounded, and thirteen thousand of his forces slain. Night coming on, put an end to the slaughter on both sides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, "That one such victory more would ruin his whole army." The next day as he walked to view the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans which were slain: upon seeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, even in death, marked with noble resolution, and a sternness that awed him into respect, he was heard to cry out, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, "O with what ease could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had they me for their king."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, was still unwilling to drive them to an extremity, and considered that it was best treating with an humbled enemy; he resolved therefore to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to negociate a peace; of whom he often asserted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans incapable of being seduced, either by bribery, private or public persuasion.

Being frustrated, therefore, in his expectations, he returned to his master, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The senate, he said, appeared a reverend assembly of demigods, and the city a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus soon after became sensible by an embassy from Rome concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had long been a patern to his countrymen, of the most extreme poverty, joined to the most cheerful content. Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindness; and willing to try how far fame had been just in his favour, offered him rich presents, which, however the Roman refused. The day after, he was desirous of examining the equality of his temper, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapestry; which, upon a signal given, raised its trunk above the ambassador's head, at the same time using other arts to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with

a countenance no way changing, smiled upon the king, observing that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of the day as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleased to find so much virtue in one he had considered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favor which he knew could make him happy; he released the Roman prisoners, entrusting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promise, that in case the senate were determined to continue the war he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

By this time the Roman army was recovered from its late defeat, and Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic which had formerly seized it from the elephants now began to wear off, and both armies met near the city of Asculum, both pretty nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thousand strong; and here again, after a long and obstinate fight the Grecian discipline prevailed. The Romans, being pressed on every side particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving six thousand men dead upon the field of battle But the enemy had no great reason to boast of their triumph, as they had four thousand slain; so that Pyrrhus replied to one of his soldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "one such triumph more "and I shall be undone"

U. C. 473.

This battle finished the campaign; the next season began with equal vigor on both sides, Pyrrhus having received new succors from home. While the two armies were approaching, and yet but at a small distance from each other, a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's physician, importing, that for a proper reward, he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy, and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt all the honest indignation at this base proposal that was consistent with his former character; he communicated it to his colleague, and instantly gave it as his opinion that Pyrrhus should be informed of the treachery that was plotted against him. Accordingly letters were dispatched for that purpose, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and alledging the unfortunate choice of his friends and enemies. That he had trusted

and promoted murderers, while he carried his resentment against the generous and the brave. Pyrrhus now began to find that these bold barbarians were by degrees schooled into refinement, and would not suffer him to be their superior even in generosity: he received the message with as much amazement at their candour as indignation at his physician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he "it would be as easy to turn the sun from its course, as "thee from the paths of honour." Then making the proper enquiry among his servants, and having discovered the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom, and again desired to negociate a peace. The Romans on the other hand, refused him peace, but upon the same conditions they had offered before.

So that, after an interval of two years, Pyrrhus, having increased his army by new levies, sent one part of his army to oppose the march of Lentulus, the Roman consul, while he himself went to attack Curius Dentatus, the other in command, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to surprise the enemy by night; but unfortunately passing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men lost their way, so that at the approach of morning, he saw himself in sight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive him. The vanguard of both armies soon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after, a general engagement ensuing, Pyrrhus finding the balance of the victory turning still against him, had once more recourse to his elephants. These, however, the Romans were then too well acquainted with, to feel any vain terrors from; and having found that fire was the most effectual means to repel them, they caused a number of balls to be made, composed of flax and rosin, which were thrown against them as they approached the ranks. The elephants thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers, could no longer be brought on, but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terror and confusion. Thus victory at length declared in favour of Rome: Pyrrhus in vain attempted to stop the

flight and slaughter of his troops; he lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but his camp was also taken. This served as a new lesson to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by this new capture they were taught to measure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories are to be ascribed to their improved method of encamping.

Pyrrhus thus finding all hopes fruitless, he resolved to leave Italy, where he found only desperate enemies and faithless allies; accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them that he had received assurances from Greece of speedy assistance, and desiring them to wait the event with tranquillity, the night following embarked his troops, and returned undisturbed into his native kingdom with the remains of his shattered forces, leaving a garrison in Tarentum merely to save appearances, and in this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus after six years continuance.

As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they soon began to find a worse enemy in the garrison that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become so great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies the Romans could equal it. In this distress they applied to the Carthaginians, who with a large fleet came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; so that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy for their refinements and pleasures, now saw themselves contended for by three different armies, without the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAP. XIV.

From the beginning of the Punic War, to the beginning of the second, when the Romans began to grow powerful by sea.

[U. C. 489.]

THE Romans having destroyed all rival pretensions at home, began to pant after foreign conquests. The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily, and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. This opportunity at length offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of the states of that island, which was as yet unconquered, entreated their aid against the Mamertines, a little people of the same country, and they sent him supplies both by sea and land. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to shield off impending ruin, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage; alledging as a reason the assistance which Carthage had lately sent to the southern parts of Italy against the Romans. In this manner a war was declared between these two powerful states, both grown too great to continue patient spectators of each others increase.

Carthage, a colony of the Phœnicians, was built on the coast of Africa, near the place where Tunis now stands, about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, so it had extended its dominions all along the coasts. But its chief strength lay in its fleets and commerce: thus circumstanced, these two great powers began what is called the first Punic war. The Carthaginians, possessed of gold and silver, which might be exhausted; the Romans famous for perseverance, patriotism and poverty, *which seemed to* gather strength by every defeat.

But there seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle to the ambitious views of Rome, as they had no fleet, or at least what deserved that title; while the Carthaginians had the entire command at sea, and kept all the maratime towns under obedience. In such a situation any people but the Romans would have rested contented under disadvantages which nature seemed to have imposed; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They began to apply themselves to maritime affairs; and, though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, they resolved to surmount every obstacle with inflexible perseverance. A Carthaginian vessel happened to be in a storm driven ashore; and this was sufficient to serve as a model. The consul Duillius was the first who ventured to sea with his new constructed armament; and though far inferior to the enemy in the management of his fleet, yet he gained the first naval victory, the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more.

But the conquest of Sicily was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reason the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa itself, and accordingly they sent Regulus and Manlius with a fleet of three hundred sail to make the invasion. Regulus was reckoned the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce, and a professed example of frugal severity. His patriotism was still greater than his temperance; all the private passions seemed extinguished in him, or they were all swallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals set sail with their fleet, which was the greatest that had ever left an Italian port, carrying an hundred and forty thousand men. They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful and men better used to the sea. While the fight continued rather between the ships than the men at a distance, the Carthaginians seemed successful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame was apparent. The resolution of the Romans was crowned with success; the enemy's fleet were dispersed, *and fifty-four* of their vessels taken. The consequence of *this victory* was an immediate descent upon the coast of

Africa, and the capture of the city Clupea, together with twenty thousand men, who were made prisoners of war.

The senate being informed of these great successes, and applied to for fresh instructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to superintend the Sicilian war; and directed that Regulus should continue in Africa to prosecute his victories there.

A battle ensued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and some of its best troops were cut off. This fresh victory contributed to throw them into the utmost despair; more than eighty of their towns submitted to the Romans. In this distress the Carthaginians, destitute of generals at home, were obliged to send to Lacedemon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them.

This general began by giving the magistrates proper instructions for levying their men, he assured them that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the strength of the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and assured them of an easy victory. The whole city seemed once more revived from despondency, by the exhortations of a single stranger; and soon from hope grew into confidence. This was the spirit the Grecian general wished to excite in them; so that when he saw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The Lacedemonian made the most skilful disposition of his forces; he placed his cavalry in the wings; he disposed the elephants at proper intervals behind the line of the heavy armed infantry; and, bringing up the light armed troops before, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry after they had discharged their weapons. At length both armies engaging, after a long and obstinate resitance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful slaughter; the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner. Several other distresses of the Romans followed soon after this. They lost their fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. They undertook to build a new fleet, which also shared the fate of the former, the mariners, as yet unacquainted

with the Mediterranean shores, drove it upon quicksands; and soon after the greatest part perished in a storm.

Meantime, the Carthaginians being thus successful, were desirous of a new treaty for peace, hoping to have better terms than those insisted upon by Regulus. For this purpose, they supposed that he, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, confined and chained, would be a proper solicitor. It was expected that, being wearied with imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to a discontinuance of a war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent with their ambassadors to Rome, but with a promise, previously exacted from him, to return in case of being unsuccessful. He was even given to understand that his life depended upon the success of his negociation.

When this old general, together with the ambassadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations resounded through the city; but Regulus refused, with settled melancholy, to enter the gates. It was in vain that he was entreated on every side to visit once more his little dwelling, and share in that joy which his return had inspired. He persited in saying, that he was now but a slave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The senate assembling without the walls, as usual, to give audience to the ambassadors, Regulus opened his commission, as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambassadors seconded his proposals. The senate were, by this time, themselves weary of a war which had been protracted above eight years, and were no way disinclinable to a peace. It only remained for Regulus himself to give his opinion, who, when it came to his turn to speak, to the surprise of all the world, gave his voice for continuing the war. So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate: they pitied as well as admired a man who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. But he soon relieved their embarrassment by breaking off the treaty, and by rising *in order to* return to his bonds and confinement. It was

in vain that the senate and all his dearest friends entreated his stay; he still repressed their solicitations. Marcia, his wife, with her little children, filled the city with their lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to see him; he still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise; and, though sufficiently apprised of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and the disappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambassadors that Regulus, instead of hastening a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to punish his conduct with the most studied tortures. First his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to prison. He was after some days, again brought out, and exposed with his face opposite the burning sun. At last when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel stuck full of nails, that pointed inwards; and in this painful condition he continued till he died.

Both sides now took up arms with more than former animosity. At length the Roman perseverance was crowned with success, one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the consul, once more shewed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large squadron of the enemy's ships; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory still more complete, in which the power of Carthage seemed totally destroyed at sea, by the loss of an hundred and twenty ships, according to the smallest computation. This loss brought the Carthaginians to sue for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but still inflexible in its demands, exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. These were, that they should lay down a thousand talents of silver to defray the charge of the war, and should pay two thousand two hundred more in ten years time: that they should quit Sicily, with all such islands as they possessed near it: that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, or come with any vessels of war within the Roman dominions; and lastly, that all their prisoners and

deserters should be delivered up without ransom.
U. C. To these hard conditions the Carthaginians, now
513. exhausted, readily subscribed; and thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-four years, and in some measure had drained both nations of every resource to begin another.

CHAP. XV.

From the end of the first Punic War, to the end of the second.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and the Romans, a profound peace ensued and in about six years after, the temple of Janus was shut for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans, being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of turning to the arts of peace, they now began to have a relish for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their lowest buffoons: they had sports called Fescennini, in which a few debauched actors made their own parts, while raillery and smut supplied the place of humour. To these a composition of a higher kind succeeded, which they called satire, which was a kind of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of derision to the vulgar. After these came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greek; and, indeed, the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus,
U. C. was by birth a Grecian. The instant these finer
514. kinds of composition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with disdain. From thence forward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and though they were never able to rival their masters in dramatic composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of poetry. Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic compositions, began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire,

not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler sort invented by Lucilius, was all their own.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making fresh preparations for war: all intervals of ease seemed rather to give fresh vigour for new designs, than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the first people upon whom they tried their strength, after some continuance of peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, happened to make depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome: this being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, she, instead of granting redress, ordered the ambassador that was sent to demand restitution to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were victorious: most of the Illyric towns were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace at last concluded, by which the gratest part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those unarmed. 527.

The Gauls were the next people that incurred the displeasure of the Romans. Supposing a time of peace, when the armies were disbanded, a proper season for new irruptions, this barbarous people invited fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and, entering Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword, till they came within about three days journey of Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to oppose them, who, now instructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled to surround the Gauls, who still retained their primeval barbarity. It was in vain that those hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppose their adversaries; their naked bodies and undisciplined forces were unable to withstand the shock of an enemy completely armed, and skilled in military evolutions. A miserable slaughter ensued, in which forty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal spoils that were yet obtained at Rome. *These conquests* forced them to beg a peace, the condi-

tions of which served greatly to enrich the empire. Thus the Romans went on with success; they had now totally recovered their former losses, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to begin a new war.

The Carthaginians had only made a peace because they were no longer able to continue the war. They therefore took the earliest opportunity of breaking the treaty: they besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and though desired to desist, prosecuted their operations with vigour. Ambassadors were sent in consequence from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had advised this measure, should be delivered up; which being refused, both sides prepared for a second Punic war.

The Carthaginians trusted the management of it on their side to Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar. This extraordinary man had been made the sworn foe of Rome almost from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendship with the Romans, nor desist from opposing their power, until he or they should be no more. On his first appearance in the field, he reconciled, in his own person, the most just method of commanding with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was possessed of the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his spirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took sustenance to content nature, and not to delight his appetite. He was the best horseman, and the swiftest runner of his time. This great general, who is considered as the most skilful of antiquity, having overrun all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations resolved to carry the war into Italy itself, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpose, leaving Hanno with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. He quickly tra-

versed that country, which was then wild and extensive, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its forests and rivers appeared to intimidate him; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid currents, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura branched out into numberless channels, opposed his way; he passed them all with perseverance, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new passage into Italy. It was in the midst of winter when this astonishing project was undertaken. The season added new horrors to a scene that nature had already crowned with objects of dismay The prodigious height, and tremendous steepness of the mountains, capped with snow, the people barbarous and fierce, dressed in skins, with long and shaggy hair, presented a picture that impressed the beholders with astonishment and terror. But nothing was capable of subduing the courage of the Carthaginian general; for, at the end of fifteen days, spent in crossing the Alps, he found himself in the plains of Italy with about half his army remaining, the rest having died of the cold, or been cut off by the natives.

As soon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of an immense army, was crossing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, the senate sent Scipio to oppose him, who was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. In the mean time, Hannibal, being thus victorious, took the most prudent precautions to increase his army, giving orders always to spare the possessions of the Gauls, while his depredations were permitted upon those of Rome; and this so pleased that simple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his standard with alacrity.

The second battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Cathaginian general being apprised of the Roman impetuosity, of which he always availed himself in almost every engagement, had sent off a body of a thousand horse, each with a foot soldier behind, across the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, who, seeming to be defeated, took the river, and were as eagerly pursued by Sempronius, the consul. It was not, however, *till his army was got upon the opposite bank*, that he per-

ceived himself half conquered already, his men being fatigued with wading up to their armpits, and quite benumbed by the intense coldness of the water. A total rout ensued; twenty six thousand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repass the river. A body of ten thousand men were all that survived; who, finding themselves enclosed on every side, broke desperately through the enemy's ranks, and fought retreating, till they found shelter in the city of Placentia.

The third defeat the Romans sustained was at the lake of Thrasmene; near to which was a chain of mountains, and between these and the lake, a narrow passage leading to a valley that was embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills that Hannibal disposed his best troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius, the Roman general, led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians was also assisted by accident; for a mist rising from the lake, kept the Romans from seeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole disposition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals: the Roman army was broken and slaughtered, almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About fifteen thousand Romans, together with Flaminius himself, fell in the valley and six thousand more were obliged to yield themselves prisoners of war.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general consternation was allayed, the senate, upon mature deliberation, resolved to elect a commander with absolute authority, in whom they might repose their last and greatest expectations. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution. He was apprised that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at such a distance from home was rather by harassing them than by fighting. For this purpose he always encamped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved, he moved, watched their motions, straitened their quarters, and cut off their provisions.

By these arts, Fabius had actually at one time enclosed Hannibal among mountains, where it was impossible to

winter, and yet from which it was almost impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger In this exigence nothing but one of those stratagems of war, which fall to the lot of great abilities only to invent, could save him: he ordered a number of small faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen that he had in his camp, and that they should be driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountains, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forest with fire; while the sentinels that were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain seeing such a number of flames advancing towards their posts, fled in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem Hannibal drew off his army, and escaped through the defiles that lead beneath the hills, though with considerable damage to his rear.

Soon after, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, his time being expired, and Terentius Varro was chosen by the majority to succeed to the command This Terentius Varro was a man sprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a disposition entirely opposite: experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his Plebeian colleague.

The Romans, finding themselves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almost ninety thousand strong, now again resolved to meet Hannibal, who was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a wind that for a certain season blows still one way in his rear, which raising great clouds of dust from the parched plains behind, he knew must greatly distress an approaching enemy. In this situation he waited the coming up of the Romans with an army of forty thousand foot, and half that number of cavalry. The two consuls soon appeared to his wish, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command every day by turns On the first day of their arrival, it falling to the lot of Æmilius to command, he was entirely averse to engaging. The next day, however, it being come to Var-

ro's turn to command, he, without asking his colleague's concurrence, gave the signal for battle; and passing the river Aufidus that lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The battle began with the light armed infantry; the horse engaged soon after: and the Roman cavalry being unable to stand against those of Numidia, the legions came up to reinforce them. It was then that the conflict became general: the Roman soldiers for a long time endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal observing, ordered part of those troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on their wing, so as to surround them; upon that a terrible slaughter began to ensue of the Romans, fatigued with repeated attacks from the Africans, who were fresh and vigorous. At last the rout became general in every part of the Roman army; the boastings of Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been terribly wounded by a slinger in the very beginning of the engagement, still feebly fled on his body of horse, and did all that could be done to make head against the enemy; however, being unable to sit on horseback, he was forced to dismount. It was in this deplorable condition of things, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horseback from the enemy, which at some distance pursued him, met Æmilius sitting upon a stone, covered over with blood and wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the pursuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you at least are guilt-"less of this day's slaughter: take my horse and fly." "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying consul, "all "is over, my part is chosen: go, I command thee, and "tell the senate from me to fortify Rome against the ap-"proach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius also, that Æmi-"lius, while living, ever remembered his advice, and now, "dying, approves it." While he was yet speaking the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of hundreds. In this battle the Romans lost fifty thousand men, and so many knights, that it is said Hannibal sent three bushels of gold rings to Carthage, which those of this order had worn on their fingers.

When the first consternation was abated after this dreadful blow at Rome, the senate came to a general resolution to create a dictator, in order to give strength to their government. A short time after, Varro arrived, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army; and, as he had been the principal cause of the late calamity, it was natural to suppose that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But far otherwise! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks that he did not despair of the safety of Rome. Fabius, who was considered as the shield of Rome, and Marcellus as the sword, were appointed to lead the armies; and though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, but upon condition that he should quit Italy. Terms similar to those they had formerly insisted upon from Pyrrhus.

In the mean time, Hannibal, either finding the impossibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces rest after such a mighty victory, led them to Capua, where he resolved to winter. This city had long been considered as the nurse of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue; here, therefore, a new scene of pleasure opened to his barbarian troops; and they at once gave themselves up to the intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters.

Hitherto we have found this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and survey him struggling with accumulated misfortunes, and at last sinking beneath them.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where Marcellus the prætor made a successful sally. He some time after attempted to raise the siege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint of going to besiege Rome; but finding a superior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For some years after he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining, and some imes losing the advantage, but coming to no decisive engagement. U. C. 544.

The senate of Carthage at length came to a resolution *of sending his brother* Asdrubal to his assistance, with a

body of forces drawn out of Spain. Asdrubal's march being made known to the consuls Livius and Nero, they went against him with great expedition, and surrounding him in a place, into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected these succours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been assured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Asdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into his brother's camp The Carthaginian general now therefore began to perceive the approaches of the downfall of Carthage, and could not help with a sigh observing to those about him, that fortune seemed fatigued with granting her favours.

In the mean time, fortune seemed to favour the Roman arms in other parts; Marcellus took the city of Syracuse in Sicily, which was defended by the machines and the fires of Archimedes the mathematician.

The inhabitants were put to the sword, and among the rest Archimedes himself, who was found meditating in his study by a Roman soldier. Marcellus, the general, was not a little grieved at his death. A passion for letters at that time began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which his own works have long survived.

As to their fortunes in Spain, though for a while they appeared doubtful, two of the Scipios being slain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of the province appearing much an undermatch for the cunning of the Carthaginian general, yet they soon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who sued for the office of proconsul to that kingdom, at a time when every one else was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requisite for forming a great general and a good man; he united the greatest courage with the greatest tenderness; superior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almost his equal in those of war. His father had been killed in Spain, so that he seemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. He therefore appeared irresistible, obtaining many great victories, yet subduing still more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition; than by the force of his arms.

It was shortly after that he returned with an army from the conquest of Spain, and was made consul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at first supposed he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him from thence; but he had already formed a wiser plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and, while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment; for in a short time Hanno opposed him, but he was defeated and slain Syphax, the usurper of Numidia, led up a large army against him. The Roman general for a time declined fighting, till, finding an opportunity, he set fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midst of the confusion, killed forty thousand men, and took six thousand prisoners.

The Carthaginians now, beginning to be terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's successes, determined to recal Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppose the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, with a positive command for him to return and oppose the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a siege. Nothing could exceed the regret and disappointment of Hannibal upon receiving this order. However, he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country with the same submission that the meanest soldier would have done, and took leave of Italy with tears in his eyes. after having kept possession of the most beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

Upon his arrival at Leptis in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumetum, he at last approached Zama, a city within five day's journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, joined by Masinissa with six thousand horse; and, to shew his rival in the field how little he feared his approach, sent back the spies which were sent to explore his camp, having previously shewn them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had seen The Carthaginian general, conscious of his inferiority, endeavoured to discontinue the war by negociation, and desired a meeting with

Scipio to confer upon terms of peace, to which the Roman general assented. But, after a long conference, both sides parting dissatisfied, they returned to their camps to prepare for deciding the controversy by the sword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the empire that was in dispute. The disposition Hannibal made of his men, is said, by the skilful in the art of war, to be superior to any of his former arrangements. The battle began with the elephants on the side of the Carthaginians, which, being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which their greatest strength consisted, the heavy infantry joined on both sides; but the Romans being stronger of body, the Carthaginians were obliged to give ground. In the mean time Massinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued, twenty thousand men were killed in the battle or the pursuit, and as many were taken prisoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted soldier could perform, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumetum, fortune seeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated not as rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands in the Mediterranean sea. They were bound to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their elephants; to restore Massinissa all the territories that had been taken from him; and not to make war in Africa but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years after it had begun.

CHAP. XVI.

From the end of the second Punic War, to the end of the third, which terminated in the destruction of Carthage.

WHILE the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, they carried on also a vigorous war against Philip, king of Macedonia, not a little incited thereto by the prayers of the Athenians, who, from once controling the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also entered into the confederacy against Philip. He was more than once defeated by Golba the consul, who was sent against him. He attempted to besiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raise the siege. He attempted to take possession of the streights of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them by Quintus Flaminius with great slaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated with considerable loss, and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thousand talents, half down, and the other half in the space of ten years. The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of shewing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to submit to the Roman arms; after some embassies on the one side and the other, a war was declared against him five years after the conclusion of the Macedonian war.

After various mistakes and misconduct, he attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to quit all his places in Europe, and such in Asia as professed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late; Scipio, perceiving his own superiority, was resolved to avail himself of it. Antiochus, thus driven into resistance, for some time retreated before the enemy, till, being pressed hard near the city of Magnesia, he was forced to draw out his men, to the number of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Scipio opposed him with forces as much inferior in number as they were superior in courage and discipline. An

tiochus therefore was in a short time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with scythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the last extremity, he was glad to procure peace of the Romans upon their own terms: which were, to pay fifteen thousand talents towards the expences of the war, to quit all his possessions in Europe, and likewise all in Asia on that side Mount Taurus, to give twenty hostages as pledges of his fidelity, and to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome.

In the mean time, Hannibal, whose destruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This consummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his ungrateful country. He had taken refuge at the court of Antiochus, who at first gave him a sincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which station he shewed his usual skill in stratagem. But he soon sunk in the Syrian's esteem for having advised schemes which that monarch had neither genius to understand nor talents to execute. Sure, therefore, to find no safety or protection, he departed by stealth; and, after wandering for a time among petty states, who had neither power nor generosity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Prusias king of Bithynia. In the mean time the Romans, with a vindictive spirit utterly unworthy of them, sent Æmilius, one of their most celebrated generals, to demand him of this king, who, fearing the resentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendship by this breach of hospitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intent to deliver him up. The poor old general, thus implacably persecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of safety cut off, determined to die; he therefore desired one of his followers to bring him poison, which he had ready for this exigence; and drinking it, he expired, as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

U. C. 583. A second Macedonian war was soon after proclaimed against Perseus, the son of Philip, whom we have already seen obliged to beg peace of the Romans. Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius; and, upon the death of his father, pleased with

the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war against Rome. During the course of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but being perfectly ignorant how to take advantage of their rashness, he spent the time in empty overtures for a peace. At length Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure safety by flying into Crete; but being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the splendid triumph of the Roman general

About this time Massinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to consider this conduct of theirs as an infraction of the treaty, sent to make a complaint. The ambassadors who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing, from the long interval of peace which it had now enjoyed for near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to possess its plunder, or from fear of its growing greatness, insisted much on the necessity of a war, which was soon after proclaimed; and the consul set out with a thorough resolution utterly to demolish Carthage

The wretched Carthaginians, finding that the conquerors would not desist from making demands while they had any thing left to supply, attempted to soften the victors by submission; but they received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground. This severe command they received with all the concern and distress of despairing people: they implored for a respite from such a hard sentence: they used tears and lamentations; but finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and to fight to the last for their seat of empire.

Those vessels therefore, of gold and silver, which their luxury had taken such pride in were converted into arms. The women parted also with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into strings for the bowmen. Asdrubal, who had been lately condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head

proper utensils for cultivating the lands which became theirs by the late law of partition. This caused still greater disturbances than before; the senate assembling upon this occasion in order to consult the most proper methods of securing these riches to themselves, which they now valued above the safety of the commonwealth; they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and ease; these therefore were commanded to be in readiness, to intimidate the people who expected no such opposition, and who were now attending to the harangues of Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised by the clients of the great on one side, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged in vain to be attended to; till, at last, raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the senate gave out that he wanted a diadem. In consequence of this, an universal uproar spread itself through all ranks of people; the corrupt part of the senate were of opinion, that the consul should defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nasica, kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose up, and preparing himself for the contest, desired that all who would defend the dignity and the authority of the laws should follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of senators and clients, armed with clubs, he went directly to the capitol, striking down all who ventured to resist Tiberius, perceiving by the tumult that his life was sought for, endeavoured to fly; and throwing aside his robe to expedite his escape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a seat; and not less than three hundred of his hearers shared the same fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate rest here, but extended to numbers of those who seemed to espouse his cause; many of them were put to death, many were banished, and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence of his pretended crimes.

Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who was slain, was *but twenty-one* upon the death of Tiberius, and as he was

too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was the first unwilling to incur their resentment by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement, unseen and almost forgotten. But, while he thus seemed desirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his solitude in the study of eloquence, which was the readiest means to obtain it: at length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself candidate for the quæstorship to the army in Sardinia, which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in his office were remarked by all The king of Numidia, sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to say that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the senate treated with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians; which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himself for the tribuneship of the people. It was then that the great found in this youth, who had been hitherto neglected upon account of his age, a more formidable antagonist than even his brother had been. Notwithstanding the warmest opposition from the senate, he was declared tribune by a large majority, and he now prepared to run the same career which his brother had gone before him.

His first effort was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people, who, rather than stand the event of a trial, chose to go into voluntary banishment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium, and soon after to all the people on that side the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn to a moderate standard, and procured a monthly distribution of it among the people He then proceeded to an inspection into the late corruptions of the senate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices, for at that time a total degeneracy seemed to have taken place, a law was made, transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the constitution;

Gracchus, by these means, being grown not only very popular but very powerful in the state, was become an object at which the senate aimed all their resentment. But he soon found the populace a faithless and unsteady support; they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and place it upon Drusus, a man insidiously set up against him by the senate. It was in vain that he revived the Licinian law in their favour, and called up several of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his support; the senate ordered them all to depart Rome, and even sent one stranger to prison, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendship. To this indignity was shortly after added a disgrace of a more fatal tendency; for standing for the tribuneship a third time, he was rejected, it being supposed that the officers, whose duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him though fairly chosen.

It was now seen that the fate of Gracchus was resolved on. Opimius, the consul, was not contented with the protection of all the senate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of slaves and clients, but ordered a body of Candians, that were mercenaries in the Roman service, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his forces, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in which he might have a pretence of dispatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus avoided all recrimination; and, as if apprised of the consul's designs, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but resolved to oppose party against party, and for this purpose brought up several countrymen to Rome, who came under pretence of desiring employment. When the day for determining the controversy was arrived, the two parties early in the morning attended at the capitol, where, while the consul was sacrificing, according to custom, one of the lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, "You, ye factious citizens, make way for honest men." This insult so provoked the party to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death

with the instruments they used in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands This murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly; but particularly Gracchus, who saw the consequences that were likely to ensue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies such advantage over him, but now prepared to lead his followers to mount Aventine. It was there he learned that proclamation had been made by the consuls, that whoever should bring either his head or that of Flaccus, should receive its weight in gold as a reward It was to no purpose that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, who were sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing less than death; and they offered pardon also to all who should leave him immediately. This produced the desired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. In the mean time, Opimius, the consul, who thirsted for slaughter, leading his forces up to mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury; a terrible slaughter of the scarce resisting multitude ensued, and not less than three thousand citizens were slain upon the spot. Flaccus attempted to find shelter in a ruinous cottage, but being discovered, was slain with his eldest son. Gracchus at first retired to the temple of Diana, where he was resolved to die by his own hand; but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to seek safety by flight. From thence he made the best of his way to cross a bridge that led from the city, still attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian slave, whose name was Philocrates. But his pursuers still pressed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were soon slain, defending him against the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge with his slave in a grove beyond the Tyber, which had long been dedicated to the furies. Here finding himself surrounded on every side, and no way left of escaping, he prevailed upon his slave to kill him, who immediately after killed himself, and fell down upon the body of his be*loved master.* The pursuers soon coming up, cut off the

head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while as a trophy upon a spear Soon after, one Septimulcius carrying it home, there, first having secretly taken out the brain, he filled it with lead in order to make it weigh heavier, and thus received of the consul seventeen pounds of gold as his recompence.

Thus died Caius Gracchus about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and six after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is usually impeached by historians as guilty of sedition; but from what we see of his character, the disturbance of public tranquillity was rather owing to his opposers than to him; so that instead of calling the tumults of that time the sedition of the Gracchi, we should rather call them the sedition of the senate against the Gracchi, since the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law to which the senate had assented, and as the designs of the former were supported by an extraneous armed power from the country that had never before meddled in the business of the legislation, and whose introduction gave a most irrecoverable blow to the constitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotism in the promulgation of these laws, it is impossible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all justice was on their side, and all injury on that of the senate. In fact, this body was now quite changed from that venerable assembly, which we have seen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues as by their arms. They were now only to be distinguished from the rest of the people by their superior luxuries, and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenary dependencies. All the venal and the base were attached to them from motives of self-interest; and they who still ventured to be independent were borne down, and entirely lost in the infamous majority In short, the empire at this period came under the government of an hateful aristocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themselves, and having no longer opposite interests from those of the senate, concurred in *their oppressions*; since, as has been said, it was not now *the struggle* between patricians and plebeians, who only no-

minally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the state being by these means reduced to a degree of hopeless subjection, instead of looking after liberty only sought for a leader; while the rich, with all the suspicion of tyrants, terrified at the slightest appearance of opposition, entrusted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not strength to withdraw it when the danger was over. Thus both parts of the state concurred in giving up their freedom; the fears of the senate first made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Augustus.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the sedition of Gracchus to the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla, which was the first step towards the ruin of the commonwealth of Rome.

WHILE the Romans were in this state of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheless were very successful in their transactions with regard to foreign powers.

Jugurtha was grandson to the famous Massinissa, who sided against Hannibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, and being superior in abilities to both, and greatly in favor with the people, he murdered Hiempsal, the eldest son, and attempted the same by Adherbal, the younger, who made his escape, and fled to the Romans for succour. Whereupon Jugurtha, being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors with large presents to Rome, who so successfully prevailed, that the senate decreed him half the kingdom which he had thus acquired by murder and usurpation, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commissioners, of whom One

mius, the murderer of Gracchus, was one, willing to follow the example which the senate had set them, were also bribed to bestow the most rich and populous part of the kingdom upon the usurper, who for all that resolved to possess himself of the whole. But willing to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incursions upon his colleague's territories, in order to provoke reprisals, which he knew how to convert into seeming aggression, in case it came before the senate. This failing, he resolved to throw off the mask; and besieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power, and murdered him. The people of Rome, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of this treachery, and procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be summoned in person before them, to give an account of all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome; but giving the people no satisfaction, he had orders to depart the city; and, in the mean time, Albinus, the consul, was sent with an army to follow him, who giving up the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a person every way unqualified for the command, the Romans were compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms; and the whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to pass under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the succeeding consul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence, an army without discipline, and an enemy ever watchful and intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the space of two years Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced out of his own dominions, and constrained to beg a peace. Thus all things promised Metellus an easy and certain victory, but he was frustrated in his expectations by the intrigues of Caius Marius, his lieutenant, who came in to reap that harvest of glory which the other's industry had sown. Caius Marius was born in a village near Arpinium, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful,

He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. When Metellus, as had been said, was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuance of his command, Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, was resolved to obtain it for himself, and thus gain all the glory of putting an end to the war To that end he privately inveighed against Metellus by his emissaries at Rome; and having excited a spirit of discontent against him, he had leave granted him to go to Rome to stand for the consulship himself, which he obtained contrary to the expectation and interest of the nobles.

Marius being thus invested with the supreme power of managing the war, shewed himself every way fit for the commission. His vigilance was equal to his valour, and he quickly made himself master of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince finding himself unable to make opposition singly, was obliged to have recourse for assistance to Bocchus king of Mauritania, to whose daughter he was married. A battle soon after ensued, in which the Numidians surprised the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of short continuance; for Marius soon after overthrew them in two signal engagements, in one of which, not less than ninety thousand of the African army were slain. Bocchus now finding the Romans too powerful to be resisted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace upon whatever conditions he might obtain it; and accordingly sent to Rome imploring protection The senate received the ambassadors with their usual haughtiness; and, without complying with their request, granted the suppliant, not their friendship but their pardon Notwithstanding, after some time, he was given to understand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans would in some measure conciliate their favor, and soften their resentment. At first the pride of Bocchus struggled against such a proposal, but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous measure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up, being drawn into an ambuscade by the specious pretences of his ally, *who deluded him, by* desiring a conference; and being

made a prisoner, he was carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable instance of blasted ambition. He did not long survive his overthrow, being condemned by the senate to be starved to death in prison a short time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror.

Marius, by this and two succeeding victories over the Gauls, having become very formidable to distant nations in war, became soon after much more dangerous to his fellow citizens in peace.

The strength which he had given the popular party, every day grew more conspicuous; and the Italians being frustrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome by the intrigues of the senate, they resolved upon obtaining by force what was refused them as a favour. This gave rise to the Social war, in which most of the states of Italy entered into a confederacy against Rome, in order to obtain a redress of this and all the rest of their grievances.

After a lapse of two years this war having continued to rage with doubtful success, the senate began to reflect that, whether conquered or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being totally destroyed. In order therefore to soften their compliance by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to such of the Italian states, as had not revolted. They then offered it to such as would soonest lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had the desired effect, the allies, with mutual distrust, offered each a separate treaty: the senate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that, being empowered to vote not until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they had very little weight in the constitution. In this manner they were made free, all but the Samnites and Lucanians, who seemed excluded from the general compromise, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded against them, the glory of putting an end to the war: this he performed with great conduct, storming their camps, overthrowing them in several battles, and obliging them to submit to such terms as the senate were pleased to impose.

This destructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus says, consumed above three hundred thousand of the *flower of Italy*, the senate now began to think of turning

their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful monarch of the east.

For this expedition Marius had long been preparing; but Sylla, who now began to make a figure in the commonwealth had interest enough to get Marius set aside, and himself, appointed to the expedition. Marius, however tried all his arts with the people to get this appointment reversed, and at length procured a law to be enacted, that the command of the army appointed to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius

In consequence of this, Marius immediately sent down officers from Rome to take command in his name. But instead of obeying his orders, they fell upon and slew the officers, and then entreated Sylla that he would lead them directly to take signal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome

Accordingly his soldiers entered the city sword in hand, as a place taken by storm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partizans, attempted to oppose their entrance; and the citizens themselves, who feared the sackage of the place, threw down stones, and *tiles* from the tops of the houses upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict lasted longer than could have been expected: at length Marius and his party were obliged to seek safety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the slaves who would assist them in this emergency.

Sylla now finding himself master of the city, began by modelling the laws so as to favour his outrages. While Marius, driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy at the age of seventy was obliged to save himself, unattended and on foot, from the numerous pursuits of those who sought his life. After having wandered for some time in this deplorable condition, he found every day his dangers increase, and his pursuers making nearer advances. In this distress he was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he spent the night up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day he left this dismal place and made towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape; but being known and discovered by some of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town, with a halter round his *neck, without clothes,* and covered over with mud, was

sent to prison. The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon after sent a Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; but the barbarian no sooner entered the dungeon for this purpose but he stopt short, intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of the fallen general, who sternly demanded if he had the presuption to kill Caius Marius? The slave unable to reply threw down his sword and rushing back from the prison, cried out that he found it impossible to kill him! The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the best of his way to the island of Ænaria, and sailing onward was forced by a tempest on the coast of Sicily. There a Roman quæstor, who happened to be at the same place, resolved to seize him; by which he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ship. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went in a melancholy manner to place himself amongst the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however had orders from the prætor who governed there to retire. Marius, who remembered his once having served this very man when in necessity, could not suppress his sorrow at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world, and preparing to obey, desired the messenger to tell his master that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatness of his own fall by the desolation that was round him He then embarked once more, and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, spent the winter at sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit protection from an African prince, whose name was Mandrastal. After long expectation, instead of the messenger, his son himself arrived, having escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but a prisoner and had returned just time enough to prevent his father from sharing the same fate It was in this situation that they were informed that Cinna, one of their party, who had *remained at Rome*, had restored their affairs, and headed *a large army* of the Italian states in his cause.

ır was it long before they joined their forces, and pre-
d themselves at the gates of Rome. Sylla was at
ime absent in his command against Mithridates, while
a marched into the city accompanied by his guards;
Marius stopped, and refused to enter, alledging, that
ıg been banished by a public decree, it was necessary
ve another to authorize his return. It was thus that
esired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance
stice; and, while he was about to destroy thousands,
'etend an implicit veneration for the laws. In pur-
ce of his desire, an assembly of the people being call-
they began to reverse his banishment; but they had
:e gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable
ntaining his desire of revenge, he entered the city at
ead of his guards, and massacred all that had ever
obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity. Several
sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage were murdered
his command in his presence; many, even of those
had never offended him, were put to death; and at
even his own officers never approached him but with
or Having in this manner punished his enemies, he
abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival,
then made himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified
s two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition,
ıg once saved his country, and now deluged it with
d; at last, as if willing to crown the pile of slaughter
h he had made with his own body, he died the month
, aged seventy, not without suspicion of having hast-
f his end.

ı the mean time these accounts were brought to Sylla,
was sent against Mithridates, and who was perform-
many signal services against him; but concluding a
:e with that monarch, he resolved to return home to
revenge of his enemies at Rome.

ı the mean time nothing could intimidate Cinna from
ing preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined
arbo, who was now elected in the room of Valerius
had been slain, together with young Marius, who in-
ted all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he
rmined to send over part of the forces he had raised
Dalmatia to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy.
e troops were accordingly embarked; but these be-

ing dispersed by a storm, the rest that had not yet put to sea absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to their duty. In the mean time, one of the most mutinous of the soldiers being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna did all he could to prevent or appease it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

Scipio, the consul, who commanded against Sylla, was soon after allured by proposals for coming to a treaty; but a suspension of arms being agreed upon, Sylla's soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying those riches, which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow citizens in case they changed their party. Accordingly, the whole army declared unanimously for Sylla; and Scipio scarce knew that he was forsaken and deposed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who entering his tent, made him and his son their prisoners.

In this manner both factions exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of young Marius, who now succeeded his father in command, were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and more under subordination. Carbo who commanded an army for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague, but they were met by Pompey, afterwards surnamed the Great, in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain, and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Urbanus killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey, who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Sylla now became undisputed master of his country, entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy had he supported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war, or had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer.

ght thousand men who had escaped the general car-
: offered themselves to the conqueror; he ordered
n to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in
Campus Martius, and at the same time convoked the
te; there he spoke with great fluency, and in a man-
no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and in the
n time gave private directions, that all those wretches
m he had confined should be slain. The senate,
zed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first
ght that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla,
an unembarrassed air, informed them that it was on-
me criminals who were punished by his order, and
they needed not to make themselves uneasy about
fate. The day after he proscribed forty senators and
en hundred knights; and after an intermission of
days, forty senators more, with an infinite number of
richest citizens of Rome
e next resolved to invest himself with the dictatorship,
that for a perpetuity: and thus uniting all civil as well
nilitary power in his own person, he was conscious he
ht thence give an air of justice to every oppression.
this manner he continued to govern with capricious
ny, none daring to resist his power, until, contrary to
expectations of all mankind, he laid down the dictator-
, having held it not quite three years.
fter this he retired into the country in order to enjoy
pleasures of tranquillity and social happiness; but he
not long survive his abdication; he died of that disease
h is called the morbus pedicularis, a loathsome and
tifying object, and capable of shewing the futility of
an ambition.

CHAP. XIX.

From the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

[U. C. 680.]

UPON the death of Sylla, the jealousies of Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful men in the empire, began to excite fresh dissensions. Pompey was the most beloved general and Crassus was the richest man in Rome.

The first opportunity that was afforded of discovering their mutual jealousy was upon disbanding their troops with which they had conquered. Neither chose to begin; so that the most fatal consequences threatened from their dissension: but at length, Crassus stifling his resentment, laid down his command; and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who should be foremost in obtaining the favour of the people. Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables, distributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greatest part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made against the people's authority by Sylla: he restored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus, and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims a public appearance; so that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of freedom.

An expedition, in which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean, which was infested by pirates, having added greatly to his reputation, the tribunes of the people hoped it would be easier to advance their favourite still higher; wherefore Manlius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of

all Asia, together with the management of the war, which was renewed against Mithridates, should be committed to him alone. The law passed with little opposition, and the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people.

Being thus appointed to the command of that important war, he immediately departed for Asia, having made the proper preparations towards forwarding the campaign. Mithridates had been obliged by Lucullus to take refuge in Lesser Armenia, and thither that general was preparing to follow him, when his whole army abandoned him, so that it remained for Pompey to terminate the war, which he effected with great ease and expedition, adding a large extent of dominion to the Roman empire, and returning to Rome in triumph at the head of his conquering army.

But all the victories of Pompey rather served to heighten the glory than to increase the power of Rome; they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger. Those liberties indeed seemed devoted to ruin on every side; for, even while he was pursuing his conquests abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin from a conspiracy at home. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfall of his country. He was singularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conspiracy: he was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition; ruined in his fortune, profligate in his manners, and vigilant, in pursuing his aims, he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it on his guilty pleasure.

Catiline, having contracted many debts by the looseness of such an ill spent life, was resolved to extricate himself from them by any means however unlawful.

Accordingly he assembled about thirty of his debauched associates, and informed them of his aims, his hopes, and his settled plan of operations. It was resolved among them that a general insurrection should be raised throughout Italy, the different parts of which were assigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once, and Catiline, at the head of an army raised in Etruria, was in the general confusion to possess himself of

the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who had been prætor, or judge in the city, was to preside in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who sacrificed the possession of great present power to the hopes of gratifying his revenge against Cicero, was to direct the massacre through the city: and Cæsius was to conduct those who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obstacle to their designs, Catiline was very desirous to see him taken off before he let Rome; upon which two knights of the company undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. But the meeting was no sooner over than Cicero had information of all that passed in it; for by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he had gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to send him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city; and assembling the senate, consulted what was best to be done in this time of danger. The first step taken was to offer considerable rewards for further discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Catiline, to shew how well he could dissemble, or justify any crime, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence; but when confronted by the eloquence of Cicero, he hastily withdrew; declaring aloud, that since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flames which was raised about him in universal ruin. Accordingly, after a short conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards Etruria, where Manilius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him.

In the mean time Cicero took proper precautions to secure all those of the conspiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cæsius, and several others, were put in confinement; and soon after, by the command of the senate, being delivered over to the executioner, were strangled in prison.

While his associates were put to death in the city, Ca*tiline had raised* an army of twelve thousand men; of

which a fourth part only was completely armed; the rest being furnished with what chance afforded, darts, lances, and clubs. He refused at first to enlist slaves, who had flocked to him in great numbers, trusting to the proper strength of the conspiracy; but upon the approach of the consul, who was sent against him, and upon the arrival of the news that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs were entirely altered. His first attempt, therefore, was by long marches, to make his escape over the Appenines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were disappointed, all the passes being strictly guarded by an army under Metellus, superior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every side, and seeing all things desperate, with nothing left him but either to die or conquer, he resolved to make one vigorous effort against that army which pursued him. Antonius, the consul, being himself sick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant Petreius, who, after a fierce and bloody action, in which he lost a considerable part of his best troops, put Catiline's forces to the rout, and destroyed his whole army, which fought desperately to the last man.

The extinction of this conspiracy seemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the state to display itself in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the east, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa.

Crassus, as we have already observed, was the richest man in Rome; and next to him, possessed of the greatest authority: his party in the senate was even stronger than that of Pompey his rival, and the envy raised against him was less. He and Pompey had been long disunited by an opposition of interests and of characters: however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies that the state was in some measure to expect its future safety. It was in this situation of things that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert their mutual jealousy to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome: he had already *mounted by* the regular gradations of office,

having been quæstor, ædile, grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused the side of the people; and shortly after the death of Sylla procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He had all along declared for the populace against the senate, and by this became their most favourite magistrate. This consummate statesman began first by offering his services to Pompey, promising him his aid in having all his acts passed, notwithstanding the senate's opposition. Pompey, pleased at the acquisition of a person of so much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connections was disposed to become still more nearly his friend: at length, finding neither of them averse to an union of interests, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and remonstrating to them on the advantage as well as the necessity of a reconciliation, he had art enough to persuade them to forget former animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which the three agreed that nothing should be done in the commonwealth but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the first Triumvirate, by which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest that had not hitherto taken place in the government, very different from that either of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both.

CHAP. XX.

From the beginning of the first Triumvirate, to the death of Pompey.

THE first thing Cæsar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still *some influence* left; and, though they were obliged to *concur in chusing*, yet they gave him for a colleague one *Bibulus*, who they supposed would be a check upon his

power; but the opposition was too strong for even superior abilities to resist it; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, remained inactive. Cæsar began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people: he procured a law for dividing certain lands in Campania among such of the poor citizens as had at least three children. This proposal was just enough in itself, and only criminal from the views of the proposer.

Having thus strengthened himself at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces of the empire between them. The partition was soon made: Pompey chose Spain for his own part; for being fatigued with conquest, and satiated with military fame, he was willing to take his pleasures at Rome. Crassus chose Syria for his part of the empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this most favourite pursuit. To Cæsar was left the province of Gaul; composed of many fierce and powerful nations, most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore, as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command, this government was granted him for five years, as if, by its continuance, to compensate for its danger.

It would be impossible, in this narrow compass, to enumerate all the battles Cæsar fought, and the states he subdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. The Helvetians were the first that were brought into subjection with the loss of near two hundred thousand men; those who remained after the carnage were sent by Cæsar in safety to the forests from whence they had issued. The Germans, with Ariovistus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; their monarch himself narrowly escaping in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belge were cut off with such great slaughter, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passable from the heaps of slain. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, made head for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar himself, hastily *catching up a buckler*, rushed through his army into the

midst of the enemy, by which means he so turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at sea, were next brought under subjection. After them the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea. From thence, stimulated by the desire of conquest, he crossed over into Britain, upon pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with continual supplies. Upon approaching the shores he found them covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the standard bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and, being well assisted by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Britons, being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to desire a peace which was granted them, and some hostages delivered. A storm, however, soon after destroying great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what could a naked undisciplined army do against forces that had been exercised under the greatest generals, and hardened by the conquests of the greatest part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to sue for peace; which Cæsar granted them, and then returned to the continent. Thus in less than nine years he conquered, together with Britain, all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German sea.

While Cæsar was thus increasing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, steadily co-operated with his ambition, and advanced his interests, while he vainly supposed he was forwarding his own. By his means Cæsar was continued five years longer in Gaul: nor was he roused from his lethargy, till the fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began secretly to give him pain, and to make him suppose they began to eclipse his own; for, as being more recent, they were more talked of. He now therefore began to do all in his power to diminish Cæsar's reputation, obliging the magistrates not to publish any letters they received from him till he had diminished the credit of them, by spreading disadvantageous reports: one or two accidents also helped to widen the separation

namely, the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not only a little contributed to improve the harmony that subsisted between them; and the destruction of Crassus, who had conducted the war against the Parthians with so little prudence, that he suffered the enemy to get the advantage of him in almost every skirmish; and incapable of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he was involved, he fell a sacrifice to his own rashness, being killed, bravely defending himself to the last.

Cæsar, who now began to be sensible of the jealousies of Pompey, took occasion to solicit for the consulship, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, desirous of trying whether Pompey would thwart or promote his pretensions. In this Pompey seemed to be quite inactive; but at the same time privately employed two of his creatures, who alledged in the senate that the law did not permit a person that was absent to offer himself as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this was to allure Cæsar from his government, in order to stand for the consulship in person. Cæsar, however, perceiving his artifice, chose to remain in his province, convinced, that while he headed such an army as was now devoted to his interest, he could at any time give laws as well as magistrates to the state.

The senate, which were now devoted to Pompey, because he had for some time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered the two legions which were in Cæsar's army, belonging to Pompey, home, as it was pretended, to oppose the Parthians, but, in reality, to diminish Cæsar's power. Cæsar easily saw their motive; but as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he sent them home in pursuance of the orders of the senate, having previously attached the officers to him with benefits, and the soldiers with a bounty. The next step the senate took was to recal Cæsar from his government, as his time was now very near expiring. But Curio, his friend in the senate, proposed that Cæsar should not leave his army till Pompey had set him the example. This for a while perplexed Pompey; however, during the debate, one of the senate declaring that Cæsar was past the Alps, and marching with his whole army *directly towards* Rome, the consul, immediately quit-

ting the senate, went with his colleague forth from the city to an house where Pompey at that time resided. He there presented him with a sword, commanding him to march against Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared he was ready to obey: but, with an air of pretended moderation, added, that it was only in case more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæsar, who was instructed in all that passed by his partizans at Rome, though he was still in Gaul, was willing to give his aims all the appearance of justice. He agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey should do the same. But the senate rejected all his propositions, blindly confident of their own power, and relying on the assurances of Pompey. Cæsar still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, at last was content to ask the government of Illyria with two legions; but this also was refused him. Now, therefore, finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitless, and conscious, if not of the goodness of his cause, at least of the goodness of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy, and, passing the Alps with his third legion, stopped at Ravenna, a city of Cisalpine Gaul, from whence he once more wrote a letter to the consuls, declaring that he was ready to resign all command in case Pompey did so too. On the other hand, the senate decreed that Cæsar should lay down his government, and disband his force within a limited time; and if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the commonwealth.

Cæsar, however, seemed no way disturbed at these violent proceedings: the night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to table cheerfully conversing with his friends on the subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. After some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves cheerful in his absence, and that he would be with them in a moment: in the mean time having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Arminium, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched *a part of his* army the morning before. This journey by *night, which* was very fatiguing, he performed with great

ence, sometimes walking and sometimes on horse-
k, till, at the break of day, he came up with his army,
ch consisted of about five thousand men, near the Ru-
on, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and
ich terminated the limits of his command. The Ro-
ns had ever been taught to consider this river as the sa-
d boundary of their domestic empire; Cæsar, there-
e, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side
he river, stopt short upon the bank, as if imprest with
or at the greatness of his enterprise. He pondered
some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river,
debating with himself whether he should venture in:
"I pass this river," says he to one of the generals who
d by him, "what miseries shall I bring upon my
ntry! and, if now I stop short, I am undone." Thus
ing, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged
crying out, that the die was cast and all was now over.
s soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and
ckly arriving at Arminium, made themselves masters
the place without any resistance.

This unexpected enterprise excited the utmost terrors
Rome, every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his
ny to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be
n the citizens flying into the country for safety, and the
abitants of the country coming up to seek for shelter in
me. In this universal confusion Pompey felt all that
entance and self-condemnation which must necessarily
se from the remembrance of having advanced his rival
his present pitch of power; wherever he appeared,
ny of his former friends were ready to tax him with
supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill ground-
presumption. "Where is now," cried Favonius, a
iculous senator of his party, "the army that is to rise
your command? Let us see if it will appear by stamp-
g." Cato reminded him of many warnings he had given
n; which, however, as he was continually boding no-
ng but calamites, Pompey might very justly be excu-
l from attending to. But being at length wearied with
se reproaches, which were offered under colour of ad-
e, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and
nfirm his followers: he told them that they should not
et an army; for that he would be their leader; he com-

fest, indeed, that he had all along mistaken Cæsar's aims, judging of them only from what they ought to be; however, if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their necessities should happen to conduct them. He let them know that their affairs were in a very promising situation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a very considerable army in Spain, composed of veteran troops that had made the conquest of the East; besides these, there were infinite resources both in Asia and Africa, together with the succours they were sure to expect from all the kingdoms that were in alliance with Rome. This speech served in some measure to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greatest part of the senate, his own private friends and dependents, together with all those who expected to make their fortunes in his cause, agreed to follow him. Being in no capacity to resist Cæsar at Rome, he resolved to lead his forces to Capua, where he commanded the two legions that served under Cæsar in Gaul.

Cæsar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, resolved to pursue him into Capua before he could collect his forces. Accordingly, he marched on to take possession of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of course to the conqueror.

Corsinium was the first city that attempted to stop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the senate to succeed him in Gaul, and was garrisoned by twenty cohorts which were levied in the countries adjacent; Cæsar, however, quickly invested it; and, though Domitius sent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raise the siege, he was at last obliged to endeavour to escape privately. His intentions happened to be divulged, the garrison were resolved to consult their own safety by delivering him up to the besiegers. Cæsar readily accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering into the town. After some time, Lentulus the consul, who was one of the besieged, came out to implore forgiveness for himself and the rest of his confederates, putting Cæsar in mind of their ancient friendship, and acknowledging that

many favours he had received at his hands. To this Cæsar, who would not wait the conclusion of his speech, generously replied, that he came into Italy not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to restore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the senators, and the knights, with their children and some officers of the garrison, came out to claim the conqu ror's protection, who, just glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permission to go wheresoever they should think proper. But while he dismissed the leaders, he, upon this, as upon all other occasions, took care to attach the common soldiers to his own interest, sensible that he might stand in need of an army; but that while he lived, his army could never stand in need of a commander.

Pompey, who was unable to continue in Rome, having intelligence of what passed on this occasion, immediately retreated to Brundusium, where he resolved to stand a siege to retard the enemy until the forces of the empire should be united to oppose him. His aim in this succeeded to his wish; and after having employed Cæsar for some time in a fruitless siege, he privately passed his forces over to Dyracchium, where the consul had levied a body of forces for his assistance. However, though he made good his escape, he was compelled to leave the whole kingdom of Italy at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army that had strength to oppose his progress.

Cæsar finding he could not follow Pompey for want of shipping, went back to Rome to take possession of the public treasures, which his opponent, by a most unaccountable oversight, had neglected taking with him. However, upon his coming up to the door of the treasury, Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refused to let him pass; but Cæsar, with more than usual emotion, laying his hand upon his sword, threatened to strike him dead: "And know, young man, cried he, that it is easier to do this than to say it." This menace had its effect; Metellus retired, and Cæsar took out of the treasury, to the amount of three thousand pounds weight of gold, besides an immense quantity of silver.

Having thus provided for continuing the war, he depart-

ed from Rome, resolved to subdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army, composed of the choicest legions of the empire, who had been ever victorious under all its commanders. Cæsar, however, who knew the abilities of its two present generals, jocosely said, as he was preparing to go thither, that he went to fight an army without a general; and upon conquering it, would return to fight a general without an army.

The first conflict which he had with Afranius and Petreius was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both sides claimed the honour of the victory. But by various stratagems he reduced them at last to such extremity of hunger and drought that they were obliged to yield at discretion. Clemency was his favourite virtue; he dismissed them all with the kindest professions; and sent them home to Rome laden with shame and obligations to publish his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus in the space of about forty days, he became master of all Spain, and returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens upon this occasion received him with fresh demonstrations of joy, and created him dictator and consul; but the first of these offices he laid down after he had held it eleven days.

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey was equally active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppose him. All the monarchs of the East had declared in his favour, and sent very large supplies. He was master of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ships under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to these, he was supplied with large sums of money, and all the necessaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had attacked Anthony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæsar in that part of the empire with such success, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter was taken prisoner. Crowds of the distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred senators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent *to an army.*

Notwithstanding these preparations, Cæsar shipped off

five of his twelve legions at Brundusium, and, weighing anchor, fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies, timing it so well that he made his passage in one day. Still, however, convinced that the proper time for making proposals for a peace was after gaining an advantage, he sent one Rufus, whom he had taken prisoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer all to the senate and people of Rome; but Pompey once more rejected the overture, holding the people of Rome too much in Cæsar's interest to be relied on.

Pompey had been raising supplies in Macedonia, when first informed of Cæsar's landing upon the coasts of Epirus: he now therefore resolved immediately to march to Dyracchium, in order to cover that place from Cæsar's attempts, as all his ammunition and provisions were deposited there. The first place that both armies came in sight of each other was on the opposite banks of the river Apsus; and as both were commanded by the two greatest generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conquest of the East, the other celebrated for his victories over the western parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly desired by the soldiers on either side: but neither general was willing to hazard it upon this occasion; Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæsar would not venture an engagement till he was joined by the rest of his forces.

Cæsar had now waited some time with extreme impatience for the coming up of the remainder of his army, and even ventured out alone in an open fisher boat to hasten its arrival, but he was driven back by a storm. However, his disappointment was soon relieved, by an information of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Appollonia, from whence they were approaching, under the conduct of Anthony and Calenus, to join him; he therefore decamped in order to meet them, and prevent Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that side of the river, where the succours had been obliged to come on shore.

Pompey being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Asparagus, nigh Dyracchium, where he was sure of being supplied with every thing necessary for his army by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coasts of

Epirus: there he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners expressed it) that jutted into the sea, where also was a small shelter for ships, where few winds could annoy them: in this place, being most advantageously situated, he immediately began to entrench his camp: which Cæsar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely soon to quit so advantageous a post, began to entrench also behind him. And as all beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land side, was hilly and steep, he built redoubts upon the hills, stretching round from shore to shore, and then caused lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped by this blockade to force his opponent to a battle, which he ardently desired, and which the other with equal industry declined. Thus both sides continued for some time employed in designs and stratagems, the one to annoy and the other to defend. Cæsar's men daily carried on their works to straiten the enemy; those of Pompey did the same to enlarge themselves, having the advantage of numbers, and severely galled the enemy by their slingers and archers. Cæsar, however, was indefatigable; he caused blinds or mantles to be made of skins of beasts, to cover his men while at work; he cut off all the water that supplied the enemy's camp, and forage from the horses, so that there remained no more subsistance for them. But Pompey at last resolved to break through his lines, and gain some other part of the country more convenient for encampment Accordingly, having informed himself of the condition of Cæsar's fortifications from some deserters who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board his ships, with directions to attack Cæsar's entrenchments by sea, where they were least defended. This was done with such effect, that though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder Pompey's designs, yet, by means of reiterated attempts, he at last effected his purpose of extricating his army from his former camp, and of encamping in another place by the sea, where he had the conveniency of forage and shipping also. Cæsar, *being thus frustrated* in his views of blocking up the enemy, *and perceiving* the loss he had sustained, resolved at last *to force Pompey* to a battle, though upon disadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off

a legion which was posted in a wood, and this brought on a general battle. The conflict was for some time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæsar's army being entangled in the entrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into disorder; upon which Pompey pressing his advantage, they at last fled with great precipitation. Great numbers perished in the trenches and on the banks of the river, or were pressed to death by their fellows. Pompey pursued his successes to the very camp of Cæsar; but either surprised with the suddenness of his victory, or fearful of an ambuscade, he withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus lost an opportunity of securing his victory.

After this defeat, which was by no means decisive, Cæsar marched, with all his forces united into one body, directly to Gomphi, a town in the province of Thessaly. But the news of his defeat at Dyracchium had reached this place before him; the inhabitants therefore who had before promised him obedience, now changed their minds, and, with a degree of baseness equal to their imprudence, shut their gates against him. Cæsar was not to be injured with impunity; wherefore, having represented to his soldiers the great advantage of forcing a place so very rich, he ordered the machines for scaling to be got ready; and causing an assault to be made, proceeded with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours time. Cæsar left it to be plundered; and without delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the same province, which yielded at his approach. By this means he soon became possessed of all Thessaly, except Larissa, which was garrisoned by Scipio with his legion, who commanded for Pompey. During this interval, Pompey's officers continually soliciting their commander to come to a battle, and incessantly teasing him with importunities to engage, he at length resolved to renounce his own judgment, in compliance with those about him, and to give up all schemes of prudence for those dictated by avarice and passion. Wherefore, advancing into Thessaly within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he drew down upon the plains of Pharsalia, where he was joined by Scipio

pio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There he waited the coming up of Cæsar, resolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of the kingdom at a single battle.

Cæsar had employed all his art for some time in sounding the inclinations of his men; and finding his army once more resolute and vigorous, he caused them to advance towards the plains of Pharsalia, where Pompey was now encamped, and prepared to oppose him.

The approach of these two great armies, composed of the best and bravest troops in the world, together with the greatness of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being most numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæsar's, with better aims, considered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended upon their numbers and their many generals; Cæsar's upon their own discipline, and the conduct of their single commander: Pompey's partizans hoped much from the justice of their cause; Cæsar's alledged the frequent proposals which they had made for peace without effect. Thus the views, hopes, and motives of both seemed different, but their hatred and ambition were the same. Cæsar, who was ever foremost in offering battle, led out his army in array to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either suspecting his troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous situation for some time: he drew indeed sometimes out of his camp, but always kept himself under his trenches, at the foot of the hill near which he was posted. Cæsar, being unwilling to attack him at a disadvantage, resolved to decamp the next day, hoping to harass out his antagonist, who was not a match for him in sustaining the fatigues of duty. Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents struck, when word was brought him that Pompey's army had quitted their entrenchments, and had advanced farther into the plain than usual, so that he might engage them at less disadvantage: whereupon he caused his troops that were upon their march to halt, and with a countenance of joy informed them that the happy time was at last come, *which they had* so long wished for, and which was to crown their glory and terminate their fatigues. Upon

this he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces did not amount to above half those of Pompey, the army of the one amounting to above forty-five thousand foot and seven thousand horse; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thousand foot and about a thousand horse. This disproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæsar with apprehensions, wherefore he had some days before picked out the strongest and nimblest of his foot soldiers, and accustomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their assistance his thousand horse was a match for Pompey's seven thousand, and had actually got the better in a skirmish that happened between them some days before.

Pompey, on the other hand had strong expectations of success; he boasted, that he could put Cæsar's legions to flight without striking a single blow; presuming, that, as soon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greatest expectations, would outflank and surround the enemy. Labeinus commended this scheme of Pompey; alledging also, that the present troops, of which Cæsar's army was composed, were but the shadow of those old legions that had fought in Britain and Gaul; that all the veterans were worn out, and had been replaced by new levies made in a hurry in Cisalpine Gaul. To increase the confidence of the army still more, he took an oath, which the rest followed him in, never to return to the camp but with victory. In this disposition, and under these advantageous circumstances, Pompey led his troops to battle.

Pompey's order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre, and on the two flanks, he placed all his veterans, and distributed his new raised troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio; the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied, were put on the right under Domitius Ænobarbus, and on the left were stationed the two legions which Cæsar had restored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey himself; because from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the same reason he had there assembled all his horse, slingers, and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipius. Cæsar likewise divided his army into three bodies under three

commanders; Domitius Calvinus being placed in the centre, and Mark Anthony on the left, while he himself led on the right wing, which was to oppose the left commanded by Pompey. It is remarkable enough that Pompey chose to put himself at the head of those troops which were disciplined and instructed by Cæsar, an incontestible proof how much he valued them above any of the rest of his army. Cæsar on the contrary, placed himself at the head of his tenth legion, that had owed all its merit and fame to his own training. As he observed the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one spot, he guessed at Pompey's intention; to obviate which he made a draught of six cohorts from his rear line, and forming them into a separate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with instructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horse, as was customary, but to keep them in their hands, and to push them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horsemen, who being composed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themselves much upon their beauty, and dreaded a scar in the face more than a wound in the body. He lastly, placed the cavalry he had so as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his third line not to march till they had received the signal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank encouraging their men, warming their hopes and lessening their apprehension. Pompey represented to his men, that the glorious occasion which they had long besought him to grant was now before them: "And in-"deed," cried he, "what advantages could you wish over "an enemy that you are not now possessed of? Your "numbers, your vigour, a late victory, all assure a spee-"dy and an easy conquest of those harassed and broken "troops, composed of men worn out with age, and im-"prest with terrors of a recent defeat; but there is still a "stronger bulwark for our protection than the superiority "of our strength, the justice of our cause. You are en-"gaged in the defence of liberty, and of your country; "you are supported by its laws, and followed by its ma-"gistrates; you have the world spectators of your con-"duct, and wishing you success: on the contrary, he "whom you oppose is a robber and oppressor of his coun-

" try, and almost already sunk with the consciousness of " his crimes, as well as the bad success of his arms. " Shew then, on this occasion, all that ardour and detes- " tation of tyranny that should animate Romans and do " justice to mankind." Cæsar, on his side, went among his men with that steady serenity for which he was so much admired in the midst of danger. He insisted on nothing so strongly to his soldiers as his frequent and unsuccessful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to shed, and pleaded only the necessity that urged him to it. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both sides, and the wounds of his country, whoever should be victorious. His soldiers answered his speech with looks of ardour and impatience; which observing, he gave the signal to begin. The word on Pompey's side, was Hercules the invincible, that on Cæsar's, Venus the victorious. There was only so much space between both armies as to give room for fighting; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the first shock without moving out of their places, expecting the enemy's ranks to be put into disorder by their motion. Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when, perceiving the enemy motionless, they all stopt short as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career. A terrible pause ensued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful serenity; at length Cæsar's men having taken breath ran furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords. The same method was observed by Pompey's troops, who as vigorously sustained the attack. His cavalry also were ordered to charge at the very onset, which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give ground; whereupon Cæsar immediately ordered the six cohorts that were placed as a reinforcement to advance, with orders to strike at the enemy's faces. This had its desired effect; the cavalry that were but just now sure of victory received an immediate check; the unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of the assailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate them so much, that instead of defending their

persons, their only endeavour was to save their faces. A total rout ensued of their whole body, which fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and slingers who were thus abandoned were cut to pieces. Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to pursue their success, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank: this charge the enemy withstood for some time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked in front by fresh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist but fled to their camp. The flight began among the strangers, though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained their ground. Cæsar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his usual clemency cried out to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all quarters, but principally went for safety to the camp. The battle had now lasted from the break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; nevertheless the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete till he was master of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow and strike the decisive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for some time made a formidable resistance, particularly a great number of Thracians and other barbarians who were appointed for its defence: but nothing could resist the ardour of Cæsar's victorious army; they were at last driven from their trenches, and all fled to the mountains not far off. Cæsar, seeing the field and camp strewed with his fallen countrymen was strongly affected at so melancholy a prospect, and could not help crying out to one that stood near him, "They would have it so." Upon entering the enemy's camp, every object presented fresh instances of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries; on all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and sideboards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather the preparatives for

quet, the rejoicings for a victory, than the dispositions a battle. A camp so richly furnished might have n able to engage the attention of any troops but Cæ- 's; there was still something to be done, and he would permit them to pursue any other object than their ene- s till they were entirely subdued A considerable bo- of these having retired to the adjacent mountains, he vailed on his soldiers to join him in the pursuit in or- to oblige these to surrender He began by inclosing m with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but y quickly abandoned a post which was not tenable for t of water, and endeavoured to reach the city of La- a. Cæsar led a party of his army by a shorter way, intercepted their retreat, drawing up in order of battle ween them and the city. However, these unhappy itives once more found protection from a mountain, at foot of which a rivulet ran, which supplied them with er. Now night approaching, Cæsar's men were al- st spent, and ready to faint with their incessant toil since rning, yet still he prevailed upon them once more to ew their labours and to cut off the rivulet that suppli- the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all es of succour or subsistance, sent deputies to the con- ror, offering to surrender at discretion. During this erval of negociation, a few senators that were among m took the advantage of the night to escape, and the t next morning gave up their arms, and experienced conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addressed them th great gentleness, and forbade his soldiers to offer m any violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus sar, by his conduct, gained the most complete victory t had ever been obtained; and by his great clemency er the battle seemed to have deserved it. His loss ounted to but two hundred men, and that of Pompey fifteen thousand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twen- four thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners war, and the greatest part of these entered into Cæsar's ny, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces. to the senators and Roman knights who fell into his nds, he generously gave them liberty to retire wher- er they thought proper: and as for the letters which *mpey had received from* several persons who wished to

be thought neutral, he burnt them all without reading them, as Pompey had done upon a former occasion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in the camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit, and arrived the same day at Larissa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly shewn such instances of courage and conduct, when he saw his cavalry routed, on which he had placed his sole dependence, he absolutely lost his reason. Instead of thinking how to remedy this disorder by rallying such troops as fled, or by opposing fresh troops to stop the progress of the conqueror, being totally amazed by this first blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an event, which it was his duty to direct, not to follow: there he remained for some moments without speaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What," says he, "are we pursued to our very entrenchments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more suitable to his circumstances, he fled away on horseback to Larissa; from whence, perceiving he was not pursued, he slackened his pace, giving way to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable situation must naturally suggest. In this melancholy manner he passed along the vale of Tempe, and pursuing the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut, in which he passed the night. From thence he went on board a little bark, and keeping along the sea shore, he descried a ship of some burthen which seemed preparing to sail, in which he embarked, the master of the vessel still paying him the homage which was due to his former station. From the mouth of the river Peneus he sailed to Amphipolis, where finding his affairs desperate, he steered to Lesbos to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there at a distance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herself with the hopes of victory, felt the reverse of her fortune in an agony of distress; she was desired by the messenger, whose tears more than words proclaimed the greatness of her misfortunes, to hasten, if she expected to see Pompey, with but one ship, and even that not his own; her grief *which before* was violent, became then unsupportable; *she fainted away*, and lay a considerable time without any

s of life. At length recovering herself, and reflecting
as now no time for vain lamentations, she ran quite
ugh the city to the sea side. Pompey embraced her
out speaking a word, and for some time supported
in his arms in silent despair.
aving taken in Cornelia, he now continued his course
ing to the south east, and stopping no longer than
necessary to take in provisions at the ports that oc-
ed in his passage. He was at last prevailed upon to
y to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whose father Pompey
been a considerable benefactor. Ptolemy, who was
et a minor, had not the government in his own hands,
e and his kingdom were under the direction of Pho-
s, an eunuch, and Theodotus, a master of the art of
king. These advised that Pompey should be invited
shore and there slain; and accordingly Achillas, the
mander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Ro-
, and who had formerly been a centurion in Pom-
's army, were appointed to carry their opinions into
cution. Being attended by three or four more, they
t into a little bark, and rowed off from land towards
pey's ship that lay about a mile from the shore.
pey after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept
is departure, and having repeated two verses of So-
les, signifying, that he who trusts his freedom to a
nt from that moment becomes a slave, gave his hand
chillas, and stept into the bark, with only two attend-
of his own. They had now rowed from the ship a
l way; and, as during that time they all kept pro-
d silence, Pompey, willing to begin the discourse,
sted Septimius, whose face he recollected. "Me-
ks, friend," cried he, "you and I were once fellow
ldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with
ead, without uttering a word, or instancing the least
dy. Pompey therefore took out a paper, on which
ad minuted a speech he intended to make to the king,
began reading it. In this manner they approached
shore; and Cornelia whose concern had never suffer-
er to lose sight of her husband, began to conceive
, when she perceived the people on the strand crowd-
down along the coasts as if willing to receive him.

but her hopes were soon destroyed; for that instant, as Pompey rose, supporting himself upon his freed man's arm, Septimius stabbed him in the back, and was instantly seconded by Achillas. Pompey perceiving his death inevitable, only disposed himself to meet it with decency, and covering his face with his robe, without speaking a word, with a sigh resigned himself to his fate. At this horrid sight Cornelia shrieked so loud as to be heard to the shore; but the danger she herself was in did not allow the mariners time to look on; they immediately set sail, and the wind proving favourable, fortunately they escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian gallies. In the mean time, Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it for a present to Cæsar. The body was thrown naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of all those whose curiosity led them that way. However, his faithful freed man Philip, still kept near it; and when the crowd was dispersed, he washed it in the sea; and looking round for materials to burn it he perceived the wrecks of a fishing boat, of which he composed a pile. While he was thus piously employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier who had served under Pompey in his youth. "Who art thou," said he, "that art making "these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having answered, that he was one of his freed men; "Alas," replied the soldier, "permit me to share in this "honour also: among all the miseries of my exile it will "be my last sad comfort, that I have been able to assist at "the funeral of my old commander, and touch the body "of the bravest general that ever Rome produced." Both joined in giving the corpse the last rites; and after this they collecting his ashes, buried them under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inscription: *He whose merits deserves a temple can now scarce find a tomb.*

CHAP. XXI.

From the destruction of the Commonwealth to the establishment of the first emperor Augustus.

[U. C. 706]

CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune, and yet his abilities seem equal to his highest success. He possessed many shining qualities, without the intermixture of any defect but that of ambition. His talents were such as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army he commanded, and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a most complete victory, his success only seemed to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh resolution to face new dangers. He resolved therefore to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he should retire; convinced, that during his life he might gain new triumphs, but could never enjoy security.

Accordingly, losing no time, he set sail for Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thousand men; a very inconsiderable force to keep such a powerful kingdom under subjection. Upon his landing, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and soon after one of the murderer's came with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such an horrid spectacle: he turned away from it with disgust; and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered, and a temple near the place to Nemesis, who was the goddess that punished those that were cruel to men in adversity.

It should seem that the Egyptians by this time had some hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans,

which they considered, as in fact it was, but a specious subjection. They first began to take offence at Cæsar's carrying the ensigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus, the eunuch, also treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, concealed his resentment till he had a force sufficient to punish his treachery; and sending privately for the legions which had been formerly enrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he in the mean time pretended to repose an entire confidence in the king's minister, making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were in great numbers at Alexandria. However, he soon changed his manner, when he found himself in no danger from the minister's attempts; and declared, that, as being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister, to whom, by the custom of the country, he also was married; and who, by his father's will, shared jointly in the succession. Not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being opposed in her views by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria with Arsinoe, her younger sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of aspiring to the kingdom, and sent to both her and her brother to plead their cause before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdained accepting this proposal, and backed his refusal by sending an army of twenty thousand men to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar bravely repulsed the enemy for some time; but finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as he then commanded, he retired to the palace which commanded the harbour, where he purposed to make his stand. Achillas, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and still aimed at making himself master of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the importance of those ships in the hands of an enemy, and therefore burnt them all in spite of every effort to prevent him. He next possess

himself of the isle of Pharos, which was the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the supplies sent him from all sides; and in this situation he determined to withstand the united force of all the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra having heard of the present turn in her favour, resolved to depend rather on Cæsar's favour for gaining the government than her own forces. But no arts, as she justly conceived, were so likely to influence Cæsar as the charms of her person, which, though not faultless, were yet extremely seducing. She was now in the bloom of her youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most enchanting address she joined the most harmonious voice. With all these accomplishments she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace, where, being wrapt up in a coverlet, she was carried by one Aspolodorus into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her address at first pleased him; her wit and understanding still fanned the flame; but her caresses, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to second her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoe was also strenuously engaged in the camp in pursuing a separate interest. She had found means, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confidant to make a large division in the Egyptian army in her favour; and soon after, by one of those sudden revolutions which are common in barbarian camps to this day, she caused Achillas to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his stead, and to carry on the siege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals which supplied the palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells

His next endeavour was to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He soon after made himself master of a bridge which joined the isle of Pharos to the continent, from which post Cæsar was resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action some mariners, partly through curiosity, and partly ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, instantly fled and spread a general terror through the army. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain, the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword in attempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing the irremediable disorder of his troops, he retired to a ship in order to get to the palace that was just opposite; however, he was no sooner on board than great crowds entered at the same time with him; upon which, apprehensive of the ship's sinking he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the time holding his own commentaries in his left hand above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured at least to get their king out of Cæsar's power, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes For this purpose they made use of their customary arts of dissimulation, professing the utmost desire of peace, and only wanting the presence of their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar, who was sensible of their perfidy, nevertheless concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting the peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hostilities.

In this manner Cæsar was hemmed in for some time by this artful and insidious enemy with all manner of difficulties against him; but he was at last relieved from this mortifying situation by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his most faithful partizans, who came with an army to his assistance. This general, collecting a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusim, *repulsed the* Egyptian army with loss, and at last, joining *with Cæsar,* attacked their camp with a great slaughter of

the Egyptians: Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel that was sailing down the river, was drowned by the ship's sinking; and Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt without any farther opposition. He therefore appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then but an infant, as joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arsinoe with Ganymede into banishment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now for a while seemed to relax from the usual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra. Instead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he there abandoned himself to his pleasures passing whole nights in feasting, and all the excesses of high wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even resolved to attend her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refused to be partners in so infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he resolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra, (by whom he had a son who was afterwards named Cesario) in order to oppose Pharnaces, the king of Bosphorus, who had made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the son of the great Mithridates, being ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, seized upon Armenia, and Colchis, and overcame Domitius who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's march to oppose him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the strength of his army, laboured by all the arts of negociation, to avert the impending danger. Cæsar, exasperated at his crimes and ingratitude, at first dissembled with the ambassadors, and using all expedition, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and in a few hours obtained a speedy and complete victory. Pharnaces, attempted to take refuge in his capital, and was slain by one of his own commanders. A just punishment for his former parricide. But Cæsar conquered him with so much ease, that, in writing to a friend at Rome, he exprest the rapidity of his victory in these words: "*Veni, vidi, vici*" A man so accustomed to conquest thought a *slight battle* scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar having settled affairs in this part of the empire, as well as time would permit, embarked for Italy, where he arrived sooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his affairs there absolutely required his presence. He had been during his absence, created consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Anthony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar, so opportunely could appease. However, by his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city, scarce making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Having by gentle means restored his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba king of Mauritania; and with his usual diligence landed with a small party in Africa, while the rest of his army followed him. Scipio coming to a battle soon after received a complete and final overthrow, with little or no loss on the side of the victor. Juba and Petreus his generals killed each other in despair. Scipio, attempting to escape by sea into Spain, fell in among the enemy and was slain: so that, of all the generals of that undone party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no prosperity could elate, nor no misfortune depress, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning deserts and tracts, infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left to defend. Still, however, in love with even the shew of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a senate, and conceived a resolution of holding out the town. But the enthusiasm of liberty subsiding among his followers, he was resolved no longer to force men to be free who seemed naturally prone to slavery. He now therefore desired some of his friends to save themselves by sea, and bade others to rely upon Cæsar's clemency; observing, that as to himself he was at last victorious. After his supping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his

son and to all his friends. When he came into his bed chamber he laid himself down and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul; and having read for some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been taken away by his son's order while they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his domestics to know what was become of his sword, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; but some time after called for his sword again. When he had done reading, and perceiving nobody obeyed him in bringing his sword, he called his domestics one after the other, and with a peremptory air demanded his sword once more. His son came in soon after, and with tears besought him in the most humble manner to change his resolution; but receiving a stern reprimand, he desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied; and cried out, "Now again I am master of myself." He then took up the book again, which he had read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freed men to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freed man assuring him that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room; and Cato was no sooner alone than he stabbed himself with his sword through the breast, but not with that force he intended; for the wound not dispatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the same time overturned a table on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels pushed out through the wound. The physician who attended his family perceiving that his intestines were yet untouched, was for replacing them: but when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and with a fierce resolution tore out his bowels and expired.

Upon the death of Cato, the war in Africa being completed, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome; and, as if he *had abridged all his* former triumphs only to increase

the splendour of this, the citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of countries he had subdued It lasted four days: the first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran soldiers, all scarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels and conducted him to the capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about an hundred and fifty pounds of our money, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty; to every one of which he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about two pounds sterling of ours. He after this entertained the people at about twenty thousand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits: they seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was created by a new title, *Magister Morum*, or master of the morals of the people: he received the title of Emperor, father of his country; his person was declared sacred; and in short, upon him alone were devolved for life all the great dignities of the state. It must be owned, however, that so much power could never have been entrusted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repressing vice and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the senators and the knights alone; and by many sumptuary laws restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich. He proposed rewards to all such as had many children, and took the most prudent methods of repeopling the city that had been exhausted in the late commotions.

Having thus restored prosperity once more to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain to oppose an army which had been raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and also Labienus, his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his *usual celerity*, and arrived in Spain before the enemy

ght him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sex-
Pompey's sons, profiting by their unhappy father's
nple, resolved as much as possible to protract the
; so that the first operations of the two armies were
t in sieges and fruitless attempts to surprise each o-
. At length Cæsar, after taking many cities from the
ny, and pursuing Pompey with unwearied perseve-
e, at last compelled him to come to a battle upon the
ds of Munda. Pompey drew up his men by break of
upon the declivity of an hill with great exactness and
r. Cæsar drew up his men likewise in the plain be-
: and, after advancing a little way from his trenches, he
red his men to make an halt, expecting the enemy to
e down from the hill. This delay made Cæsar's sol-
s begin to murmur, while Pompey's with full vigour
red down upon them, and a dreadful conflict ensued.
first shock was so dreadful, that Cæsar's men, who
hitherto been used to conquer, now began to waver.
ar was never in so much danger as now: he threw
self several times into the very throng of battle.
hat," cried he, "are you going to give up your gene-
al, who is grown grey in fighting at your head, to a
arcel of boys?" Upon this his tenth legion exerted
nselves with more than former bravery: and a party
orse being detached by Labienus from the camp in
pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried
d, that they were flying. This cry instantly spread
lf through both armies, exciting the one as much as
epressed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion
ssed forward, and a total rout soon ensued. Thirty
usand men were killed on Pompey's side, among
om was Labienus, whom Cæsar ordered to be buried
h the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius
mpey escaped with a few horsemen to the sea side, but
ling his passage intercepted by Cæsar's lieutenant, he
s obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. He
s quickly discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who
sently cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror.
s brother Sextus, however, concealed himself so well
t he escaped all pursuit, and afterwards became very
ed and formidable for his piracies to the people of
me.

Cæsar by his last blow, subdued all his avowed enemies, and the rest of his life was employed for the advantage of the state. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level several mountains in Italy, to drain the Pontine marshes near Rome, and designed to cut through the isthmus of Peloponnesus. Thus with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and designs beyond the limits of the longest life; but the greatest of all was his intended expedition against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himself taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. From thence Cæsar intended to pass through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caspian sea, then to open himself a way through the immeasurable forests of Germany into Gaul, and so to return to Rome. These were the aims of ambition; the jealousy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

Having been made prepetual dictator, and received from the senate accumulated honours, it began to be rumoured that he intended to make himself king, and though in fact he was possessed of the power, the people, who had an utter aversion to the name, could not bear his assuming the title. Whether he really designed to assume that empty honour must now forever remain a secret; but certain it is, that the unsuspecting openness of his conduct marked something like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by those about him of the jealousies of many persons who envied his power, he was heard to say, that he had rather die once by treason than to live continually in apprehension of it. When advised by some to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for some time reposed the greatest confidence, he opened his breast all scared with wounds, saying, "Can "you think Brutus cares for such poor pillage as this?" and being one night at supper, as his friends disputed among themselves what death was easiest, he replied, *that which* was most sudden and least foreseen. But to *convince* the world how little he had to apprehend from

his enemies, he disbanded his company of Spanish guards, which facilitated the enterprize against his life.

A deep conspiracy was therefore laid against him, composed of no less than sixty senators They were still the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party, who, having been raised above other citizens, felt more strongly the weight of a single superior. At the head of this conspiracy were Brutus, whose life Cæsar had spared after the battle of Pharsalia, and Cassius who was pardoned soon after, both prætors for the present year. Brutus made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted with the blood of his ancestors down to him. But though he detested tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their design to the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; and the night preceding, he heard his wife Calpurnia lamenting in her sleep; and being awakened, she confessed to him that she dreamt of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens in some measure began to change his intentions of going to the senate, as he had resolved, that day; but one of the conspirators coming in prevailed upon him to keep his resolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot, delivered him a memorial containing the heads of the information; but Cæsar gave it with other papers, to one of his secretaries without reading, as was usual in things of this nature. Being at length entered the senate house, where the conspirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger; to whom he said, smiling, "Well, Spurina, the ides of

"March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "*but* "they are not yet over." As soon as he had taken his place the conspirators came near him, under pretence of saluting him: and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by his order. All the conspirators seconded him with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who was behind, stabbed him, though slightly, in the shoulder. Cæsar instantly turned round, and, with the steel of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. However, all the conspirators were now alarmed; and, inclosing him round, he received a second stab from an unknown hand in the breast; while Cassius wounded him in the face. He still defended himself with great vigour, rushing among them, and throwing down such as opposed him, till he saw Brutus among the conspirators, who coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæsar thought no more of defending himself: but looking upon this conspirator, cried out, "And you too, *my* "son!" Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving three and twenty wounds from hands which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

U. C. 710. Cæsar was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be equally at a loss whether most to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him: it is most probable, that, like all very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims, he at

last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share.

As soon as the conspirators had dispatched Cæsar, they all retired to the capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators which Brutus had in pay.

The friends of the late dictator now began to find that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number was Anthony, whom we have already seen acting as a lieutenant under Cæsar, and governing Rome in his absence. He was a man of moderate abilities and excessive vices, ambitious of power only, because it gave his pleasures a wider range to riot in, but skilled in war to which he had been trained from his youth. He was consul for this year, and resolved, with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions like himself, to seize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæsar had died for usurping. Lepidus, therefore, took possession of the Forum with a band of soldiers at his devotion; and Anthony, being consul, was permitted to command them. Their first step was to possess themselves of all Cæsar's papers and money, and the next to convene the senate. Never had this august assembly been convened upon so delicate an occasion, as it was to determine whether Cæsar had been a legal magistrate or a tyrannical usurper, and whether those who killed him merited rewards or punishments. There were many of these who had received all their promotions from Cæsar, and had acquired large fortunes in consequence of his appointments: to vote him an usurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property; and yet to vote him innocent might endanger the state. In this dilemma they seemed willing to reconcile extremes; wherefore they approved all the acts of Cæsar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conspirators.

This decree was very far from giving Anthony satisfaction, as it granted security to a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremost in opposing his schemes of restoring absolute power. As *therefore the senate* had ratified all Cæsar's acts without

distinction, he formed a scheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiously as he had done when living. Being, as was said, possessed of Cæsar's books of accounts, he so far gained upon his secretary as to make him insert whatever he thought proper. By these means great sums of money, which Cæsar would never have bestowed, were there distributed among the people; and every man who had any seditious designs against the government was there sure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this situation, Anthony demanded of the senate that Cæsar's funeral obsequies should be performed, which they could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant: accordingly the body was brought forth into the forum with the utmost solemnity; and Anthony, who charged himself with these last duties of friendship began his operations upon the passions of the people by the prevailing motives of private interest. He first read them Cæsar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his sister's grandson, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæsar, and three parts of his private fortune; and Brutus was to inherit in case of his death. The Roman people were left the gardens which he had on the other side of the Tyber; and every citizen in particular was to receive three thousand festerces; and unfolding Cæsar's bloody robe in sight of the multitude, he took care they should observe the number of stabs in it; then displayed an image, which to them appeared the body of Cæsar, all covered with wounds. They could no longer contain their indignation, but unanimously cried out for revenge, and ran with flaming brands from the pile to set fire to the conspirators' houses. In this rage of resenting, meeting with one Cinna, whom they mistook for another of the same name who was in the conspiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conspirators themselves, however, being well guarded, repulsed the multitude with no great trouble; but perceiving the rage of the people, they thought it soon after safest to retire from the city.

In the mean time, Anthony, who had excited this flame, resolved to make the best of the occasion. But an obstacle to his ambition seemed to arise from a quarter on *which he least* expected it, namely, from Octavius Cæsar, *afterwards* called Augustus, who was the grand nephew

and adopted son of Cæsar. A third competitor also for power appeared in Lepidus, a man of some authority and great riches at Rome. At first the ambition of these three seemed to threaten fatal consequences to each other, but, uniting soon after in the common cause, they resolved to revenge the death of Cæsar, and dividing all power among themselves, formed what is called the second Triumvirate.

The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom was near Mutina, upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered, and finding all things safe, made the signal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other upon their first meeting; and Augustus began the conference, by thanking Anthony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death, who, being abandoned by his army, was taken as he was designing to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Anthony's command. They then entered upon the business that lay before them without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and in this period they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. The result of which was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years; that Anthony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common until their general enemy was entirely subdued; where, among other articles of union, it was agreed that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised not only the enemies, but the friends of the Triumvirate, since the partizans of the one were often found among the opposers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Anthony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius, and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero, who was assassinated shortly after by Anthony's command.

In the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, the principal of the conspirators against Cæsar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom. Then parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia and the adjacent countries, while the latter went into Syria, where he soon became master of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent Dolabella to such straits as to kill himself. Both armies soon after joining at Smyrna, the sight of such a formidable force began to revive the declining spirits of the party, and to reunite the two generals still more closely, between whom there had been some time before a slight misunderstanding. In short, having quitted Italy like distressed exiles, without having one single soldier or one town that owned their command, they now found themselves at the head of a flourishing army furnished with all the neccessaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to support a contest where the empire of the world depended on the event. This success in raising levies was entirely owing to the justice, moderation, and great humanity of Brutus, who in every instance, seemed studious of the happiness of his country and not his own.

It was in this flourishing state of their affairs that the conspirators had formed a resolution of going against Cleopatra, who had made great preparations to assist their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpose, by an information that Augustus and Anthony were now upon their march with forty legions to oppose them. Brutus therefore moved to have their army pass over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy; but Cassius so far prevailed as to have the Rhodians and Lycians first reduced, who had refused their usual contributions. This expedition was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary contributions were raised by that means, the Rhodians having scarce any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians suffered still more severely, for, having shut themselves up in the city of Xanthius, they defended the place against Brutus with such fury, that neither his arts nor entreaties could prevail upon them to surrender. At length, the town being set on fire by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus,

instead of laying hold of this opportunity to storm the place, made every effort to preserve it, entreating his soldiers to try all means of extinguishing the fire: but the desperate phrenzy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames. Wherefore instead of extinguishing, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus upon seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent on destroying themselves: he rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves and their city; but, insensible to his expostulations they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became an heap of undistinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive. The number of those whom it was possible to save from their own fury amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis, where, after the usual ceremonies were passed between them, they resolved to have a private conference together. They shut themselves up therefore in the first convenient house, with express orders to their servants to give no admission. Brutus began, by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices which should ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm; till, from loud speaking they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread for the consequences, till Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness that knew no restraint entering the room with a jest, calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities: but of uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite sincere! But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An even gentleness

a noble elevation of sentiment, a strength of mind over which neither vice nor pleasure could have any influence, an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice, composed the character of that great man. After their conference, night coming on, Cassius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and cheerfulness for a while took place of political anxiety, and softened the severity of wisdom. Upon returning home, it was that Brutus, as Plutarch tells the story, saw a spectre in his tent. He naturally slept but little, and he increased this state of watchfulness by habit and great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome, and only gave so much of the night to sleep as could barely renew the natural functions. But especially now, when oppressed with such various cares, he only gave a short time after his nightly repast to rest; and, waking about midnight, generally read or studied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was just expiring. On a sudden he thought he heard a noise as if somebody entered, and looking towards the door he perceived it open. A gigantic figure, with a frightful aspect, stood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with silent severity. At last Brutus had courage to speak to it: "Art thou a dæ-"mon, or a mortal man? and why comest thou to me?" "Brutus," replied the phantom, "I am thy evil genius: "thou shalt see me again at Philippi." "Well then," answered, Brutus, without being discomposed, "we shall "meet again." Upon which the phantom vanished, and Brutus calling to his servants, asked if they had seen anything? to which replying in the negative, he again resumed his studies. But as he was struck with so strange an occurrence, he mentioned it the next day to Cassius, who, being an Epicurean, ascribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exercised by vigilance and anxiety. Brutus appeared satisfied with this solution of his late terrors; and as Anthony and Augustus were now advanced into Macedonia, he and his colleague passed over into Thrace, and drew near to the city of Philippi, where the forces of the triumviri were posted to receive them.

All mankind now began to regard the approaching en-

with terror and suspense. The empire of the world ıded upon the fate of a battle; as from victory on the ide, they had to expect freedom; but from the other 'erci,n with absolute command. Brutus was the man who looked upon these great events before him :almness and tranquillity. Indifferent as to success, atisfied with having done his duty, he said to one of lends, "If I gain the victory, I shall restore liberty my country; if I lose it by dying, I shall be deliver- from slavery myself; my condition is fixed, and I ı no hazards." The republican army consisted of core thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. The of the triumviri amounted to an hundred thousand and thirteen thousand horse. Thus complete on sides, they met and encamped near each other upon ılains of Philippi, a city upon the confines of Thrace. city was situated upon a mountain, towards the west ıich a plain stretched itself, by a gentle declivity, al- fifteen leagues to the banks of the river Strymon. ıis plain, about two miles from the town, were two hills at about a mile distance from each other, de- ed on one side by mountains, on the other by a marsh, h communicated with the sea. It was upon these ıills that Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps: Bru- n the hill towards the north, Cassius on that towards outh; and in the intermediate space which separat- ıem they cast up lines and a parapet from one hill to ther. Thus they kept a firm communication between wo camps which mutually defended each other. In commodious situation they could act as they thought er, and give battle only when it was thought to their ntage to engage. Behind them was the sea, which ished them with all kinds of provisions, and at twelve s distance the island of Thasos, which served them general magazine. The triumviri, on the other hand, encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to g their provisions from fifteen leagus distance: so their scheme and interest was to bring on a battle on as they could. This they offered several times, ing out their men from their camp, and provoking enemy to engage On the contrary, these contented *iselves with* drawing up their troops at the head of

their camps, but without descending to the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle was all that the republican army had for it; and Cassius, who was aware of his advantage, resolved to harass the enemy rather than engage them. But Brutus began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, so that he used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. "I am impatient," said he, "to put an end to the miseries of man-" kind, and in that I have hopes of succeeding whether I " fall or conquer." His wishes were soon gratified; for Anthony's soldiers having with great labour made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, which lay behind them. Both armies, in attempting to possess themselves of this road, resolved at length to come to a general engagement. This however was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who declared that he was forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The ensuing morning the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and conferred together, a little while before the battle began. Cassius desired to know how Brutus intended to act in case they were unsuccessful; to which the other replied, "That he had formerly in his writings condemn-" ed the death of Cato, and maintained, that avoiding cala-" mities by suicide was an insolent attempt against Hea-" ven that sent them; but he had now altered his opinions, " and, having given up his life to his country, he thought " he had a right to his own way of ending it; wherefore " he was resolved to change a miserable being here, for a " better hereafter, if fortune proved against him." "Well " said, my friend," cried Cassius embracing him, "now " we may venture to face the enemy; for either we shall " be conquerors ourselves, or we shall have no cause to " fear those that are so." Augustus being sick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Anthony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Cassius. Brutus, on the other side, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Augustus, and drove forward with so much intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very *first charge*. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp, *and cutting in* pieces those who were left for its defence,

oops immediately began to plunder; but in the mean
the lines of Cassius were forced, and his cavalry put
ght. There was no effort that this unfortunate ge-
did not use to make, his infantry stand, stopping
: that fled, and seizing himself the colours to rally
. But his own valour alone was not sufficient to in-
his timorous army; wherefore, despairing of suc-
he caused himself to be slain by one of his freed
. Brutus was soon informed of the defeat of Cassius,
soon after of his death, as he drew near the camp.
eemed scarce able to restrain the excess of his grief
man whom he called the last of the Romans.
it his first care, when he became the sole general,
o assemble the dispersed troops of Cassius, and ani-
them with fresh hopes of victory. As they had lost
hey possessed by the plundering of their camp, he
ised them two thousand denarii each man to make
eir losses. This once more inspired them with new
ır; they admired the liberality of their general, and
loud shouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still,
:ver, he had not confidence sufficient to face the ad-
ıry, who offered him battle the ensuing day. His aim
:o starve his enemies, who were in extreme want of
sions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But
ingle opinion was over-ruled by the rest of his army,
now grew every day more confident of their strength
nore arrogant to their new general. He was there-
at last after a respite of twenty days, obliged to com-
with their solicitations to try the fate of the battle.
armies being drawn out, they remained a long while
ısite to each other without offering to engage. But it
id, that he himself had lost much of his natural ar-
by having seen a spectre the night preceding; how-
he encouraged his men as much as possible, and gave
ignal for another battle. He had, as usual, the ad-
ıge where he commanded in person, bearing down
nemy at the head of his infantry, and, supported by
:avalry, making a very great slaughter. But the
ɔs which had belonged to Cassius, communicating
terror to the rest of the forces, at last the whole ar-
gave way. Brutus, surrounded by the most valiant
s officers, fought for a long time with amazing valour

The son of Cato fell fighting by his side, as also the brother of Cassius; so that at last he was obliged to yield to necessity, and fled. In the mean time, the two triumviri, now assured of victory, expressly ordered by no means to suffer the general to escape for fear he should renew the war. Thus the whole body of the enemy seemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture seemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, was resolved by his own death to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horse closely pursuing Brutus, and just upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himself in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians overjoyed with so great a prize, immediately dispatched some of their companions with the news of their success to the army. Upon which the ardour of the pursuit now abating, Anthony marched out to meet his prisoner, and to hasten his death, or insult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, some silently deploring the fate of so virtuous a man; others reproaching that mean desire of life for which he consented to undergo captivity. Anthony now seeing the Thracians approach, began to prepare himself for the interview, but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a cheerful air, "It is not Bru-"tus," said he, "that is taken; fortune has not yet had "the power of committing so great an outrage upon vir-"tue As for my life it is well spent in preserving his "honour; take it, for I have deceived you." Anthony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him upon the spot; and from that time forward loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time Brutus, with a small number of friends passed over a rivulet, and night coming on, sat down under a rock which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, and casting his eyes up to heaven he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the gods, "that guilt should "not pass in this life without punishment." To this he added another from the same poet, "O Virtue! thou empty "name, I have worshipped thee as a real god, but thou art "only the slave of fortune." He then called to mind, with *great tenderness*, those whom he had seen perish in bat-

fle, and sent out one Statilius to give him some information of those that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise, and spoke to those who stood round him to lend him their last sad assistance. None of them, however, would render him so melancholy a service. He therefore called to one of his slaves to perform what he so ardently desired; but Strato, his tutor, offered himself, crying out, "That it "should never be said that Brutus, in his last extremity, "stood in need of a slave for want of a friend." Thus saying, and averting his head, he presented the sword's point to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expired.

From the moment of Brutus's death, the triumviri began to act as sovereigns, and to divide the Roman dominions between them, as theirs by right of conquest. However, though there was apparently three who participated all power, yet in fact only two were actually possessed of it, since Lepidus was at first admitted merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Anthony and Augustus; and was possessed neither of interest in the army, nor authority among the people. Their first care was to punish those whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the commonwealth, either killed themselves or were slain. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives, but both refused it; the father voluntarily gave himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Augustus replied "That he should find a grave in the vultures that devoured him." But chiefly the people lamented to see the head of Brutus sent to Rome to be thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. His ashes, however were sent to his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter, who following the example of her husband and father, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the death of Cæsar not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think

of enjoying that homage to which they had aspired. Anthony went into Greece to receive the flattery of that refined people, and spent some time at Athens, conversing among the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes in person. From thence he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the East, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour by the greatness of their presents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of sovereigns, exacting contributions, distributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sysenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He settled Herod in the kingdom of Judea and supported him against every opposer. But among all the sovereigns of the East who shared his favours, none had so large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

It happened that Serapion, her governor in the island of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to the conspirators; and it was thought proper that he should answer for his conduct on that occasion. Accordingly having received orders from Anthony to come and clear herself of this imputation of infidelity, she readily complied, equally conscious of the goodness of her cause, and the power of her beauty. She was now in her twenty-seventh year, and consequently had improved those allurements by art, which, in earlier age, are seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still farther heightened, and though there were some women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of seducing conversation. Anthony was now in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed to meet him down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city stood with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, the sails of purple, large and floating in the wind. The oars of silver, kept time to the sound of flutes and *symbols.* She herself lay reclined on a couch spangled *with stars of gold,* and with such ornaments as poets and

painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the most beautiful nymphs, drest like Naiades and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the most exquisite perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the sight with a mixture of delight and admiration. Anthony was captivated with her beauty, and leaving all his business to satisfy his passion, shortly after followed her into Egypt. There he continued in all that ease and softness to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistance. He had promised them lands at home as a recompence for their past services; but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants. In consequence of this, multitudes of women with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the temples and the streets with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain an habitation in some other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, to whom mankind owe more obligations than to a thousand conquerors, who in a humble manner begged permission to retain his patrimonial farm. Virgil obtained his request, but the rest of his countrymen of Mantua and Cremona were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the most extreme miseries, the insolent soldiers plundered at will, while Sextus Pompey being master of the sea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people's receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Anthony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had felt for some time all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus as the only probable means of rousing him from his lethargy; and accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her

brother in law, who was then consul, and entirely devoted to her interest, she began to sow the seeds of dissention. The pretext was that Anthony should have a share in the distribution of lands as well as Augustus. This produced negociations between them and Augustus offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and being at the head of more than six legions, mostly composed of such as were dispossessed, he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatsoever terms he should offer. Thus a new war was excited between Augustus and Anthony, or at least the generals of the latter assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and constrained to retreat to Perusia, a city of Etruria, where he was closely besieged by the opposite party. He made many desperate sallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without success. He was at last, therefore, reduced to such extremity by famine, that he came out in person and delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror. Augustus received him very honorably, and generously pardoned him and all his followers.

Anthony having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, was resolved to oppose Augustus without delay. He accordingly sailed, at the head of a considerable fleet from Alexandria to Tyre, and from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He much blamed her for occasioning the late disorders, testified the utmost contempt for her person, and leaving her upon her death bed at Sycion, hastened into Italy to fight Augustus. They both met at Brundusium, and it was now thought that the flames of a civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Anthony were numerous, but mostly new raised; however, he was assisted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in these oppositions of interest, was daily coming into power. Augustus was at the head of those veterans who had always been irresistable, but who seemed no way disposed to fight against Anthony, their former general. A negociation was therefore proposed; *and by the activity of Cocceius, a friend to both, a reconciliation was effected.* All offences and affronts were mu-

tually forgiven; and to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Anthony and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. A new division of the Roman empire was made between them; Augustus was to have the command of the West, Anthony of the East, while Lepidus was obliged to content himself with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius, he was permitted to retain all the islands he had already possessed, together with Peloponnesus: he was also granted the privilege of demanding the consulship in his absence; and of discharging that office by any of his friends. It was likewise stipulated to leave the sea open, and pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great satisfaction of the people, who expected a cessation from all their calamities.

This calm seemed to continue for some time: Anthony led his forces against the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant, Ventidius, had gained some advantages. Augustus drew the greatest part of his army into Gaul, where there were some disturbances; and Pompey went to secure his newly ceded province to his interest. It was on this quarter that fresh motives were given for renewing the war. Anthony, who was obliged by treaty to quit Peloponnesus, refused to evacuate it till Pompey had satisfied him for such debts as were due to him from the inhabitants. This Pompey would by no means comply with, but immediately fitted out a new fleet, and renewed his former enterprizes, by cutting off such corn and provisions as were consigned to Italy. Thus the grievances of the poor were again renewed; and the people began to complain, that, instead of three tyrants, they were now oppressed by four.

In this exigence, Augustus [illegible] meditated the best means of diminishing the [illegible] ed to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who [illegible] in continual alarm. He was master [illegible] which he had caused to be built at R[illegible] and which Menodorus, who revolted [illegible] pey, brought to his aid. His first attempt was to invade Sicily; but being overpowered in his passage by Pompey, and afterwards shattered in a storm, he was obliged to defer his designs to the

ensuing year. During this interval, he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, given him by Anthony, with which he resolved once more to invade Sicily on three several quarters. But fortune seemed still determined to oppose him. He was a second time disabled and shattered by a storm, which so raised the vanity of Pompey, that he began to style himself the son of Neptune. However, Augustus was not to be intimidated by any disgraces; for, having shortly refitted his navy, and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and associate in war. Agrippa proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him; he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and though he was shortly after worsted himself, he soon after gave his adversary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey resolved to fly to Anthony, from whom he expected refuge, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope offering, he tried once more, at the head of a small body of men, to make himself independent, and even surprised Anthony's lieutenants, who had been sent to accept of his submission. Nevertheless he was at last abandoned by his soldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Anthony's lieutenant, who shortly after caused him to be slain.

The death of this general removed one very powerful obstacle to the ambition of Augustus, and he resolved to take the earliest opportunity to get rid of the rest of his associates.

An offence soon after this was furnished by Lepidus, that served as a sufficient pretext to Augustus for depriving him [illegible] triumvirate. Being at the head of [illegible] with a strong body of cavalry, he idly supposed [illegible] ent power was more than an equivalent to the [illegible] ugustus. He therefore resolved upon adding [illegible] he then was, to his province, pretending [illegible] ving first invaded it. Augustus sent to e[illegible] these proceedings, but Lepidus fiercely [illegible] e was determined to have his share in the a[illegible] and would no longer submit to let one alone p[illegible] all the authority." Augustus was previously informed of the disposition of

Lepidus's soldiers; for he had by his secret intrigues and largesses, entirely attached them to himself. Whereupon, without further delay, he, with great boldness, went alone to the camp of Lepidus, and with no other assistance than his private bounties, and the authority he had gained by his former victories, deposed his rival. Lepidus was deprived of all his former authority, and banished to Circæum, where he continued the rest of his life, despised by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blasted ambition.

There remained now but one obstacle to his ambition, which was Anthony, whom he resolved to remove, and for that purpose began to render his character as contemptible as he possibly could at Rome. In fact, Anthony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavour of his ambitious partner. He had marched against the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loss of the fourth part of his forces, and all his baggage. However, Anthony seemed quite regardless of contempt: alive only to pleasure, and totally disregarding the business of the state, he spent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who studied every art to increase his passion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleasure, and making trifles important: still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight with some new stroke of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a bacchanal, and sometimes an huntress. She invented a society called the Inimitable; and those of the court who made the most sumptuous entertainments carried away the prize. Not contented with sharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Anthony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phœnicia, Cœlo Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judea, gifts which he had no right to bestow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, at

he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he resolved to send Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Anthony, as if with a view of reclaiming her husband; but in fact, to furnish a sufficient pretext of declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Anthony was now at the city of Leucoplis revelling with his insidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news as well to him as Cleopatra, who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavored to convince Anthony of her passion by her sighs, languishing looks, and well feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed as if willing to hide, and often entreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures, prevailed so much upon Anthony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home without seeing her; and still more to exasperate the people of Rome, he resolved to repudiate her, and take Cleopatra as his wife. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself, drest like Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him, clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her; while he associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To the two children which he had by her himself, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extensive dominions: and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome.

In the mean time, Augustus had now a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Anthony, who perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate that he had many

causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share: alledging that he had also dispossessed Lepidus, and kept to himself the province he had commanded; and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompence those in Asia. To this complaint Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer, implying that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy, when Anthony having conquered Parthia, he might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. This sarcasm provoked him to send his army without intermission into Europe to meet Augustus, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea, had orders to send him supplies both of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him.

This delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus, who was at first scarcely in a disposition to oppose him had he gone into Italy; but he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war, and shortly after declared it against him in form. At length both sides found themselves in readiness to begin the war, and their armies were answerable to the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East; the other drew all the strength of the West to support its pretensions. Anthony's forces composed a body of an hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered but eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary in the number of cavalry: his fleet was but half as numerous as Anthony's; however, his ships were better built, and manned with better soldiers.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus at the entrance of the gulph of Ambracia. Anthony ranged his

ships before the mouth of the gulph, and Augustus drew up his fleet in opposition. Neither general assumed any fixed station to command in, but went about from ship to ship, wherever his presence was necessary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on opposite sides of the gulph, were drawn up, only as spectators of the engagement, and encouraged the fleets by their shouts to engage. The battle began on both sides with great ardour; and after a manner not practised on former occasions. The prows of their vessels were armed with brazen points, and with these they drove furiously against each other. They fought for some time with great fury; nor was there any advantage on either side, except a small appearance of disorder in the centre of Anthony's fleet. But all of a sudden Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was seen flying from the engagement, attended by sixty sail, struck perhaps with the terrors natural to her sex: but what increased the general amazement was, to behold Anthony himself following soon after, leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors; and the army at land soon after followed their example.

When Cleopatra fled, Anthony pursued her in a five oared galley, and, coming along side of her ship, entered it without seeing or being seen by her. She was in the stern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for some time silent holding his head between his hands. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either through indignation or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last, when they were arrived at the promontory of Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the consolation to suppose his army continued faithful to him and accordingly dispatched orders to his lieutenant Canidius to conduct it into Asia. However, he was soon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their submission to his rival. This account so transported him with rage, that he was hardly prevented from killing himself; but at length, at the entreaty of his friends, he returned to Alexandria. Cleopatra, however, *seemed to* retain that fortitude in her misfortunes which *had utterly* abandoned her admirer. Having amused

onsiderable riches, by means of confiscation, and other cts of violence, she formed a very singular and unheard- project: this was to convey her whole fleet over the sthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby save her- elf in another region, beyond the reach of Rome, with ll her treasures. Some of her vessels were actually ransported thither, pursuant to her orders; but the Ara- ians having burnt them, and Anthony dissuading her rom the design, she abandoned it for a more improbable cheme of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She mitted nothing in her power to put this advice in prac- ice, and made all kinds of preparations for war, at least oping thereby to obtain better terms from Augustus. n fact she always had loved Anthony's fortunes rather han his person; and if she could have fallen upon any nethod of saving herself, though even at his expence, here is no doubt but she would have embraced it with gladness. She even still had some hopes from the power f her charms, though she was arrived almost at the ge of forty, and was desirous of trying upon Augustus hose arts which had been so successful with the greatest nen of Rome. Thus, in three embassies, which were ent one after another from Anthony to Augustus in Asia, he queen had always her secret agents charged with articular proposals in her name. Anthony desired no nore than that his life might be spared, and to have the iberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity. To those proposals Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra ent him also public proposals in favour of her children; ut at the same time privately resigned him her crown, vith all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's public proposals no answer was given: to her private offer he eplied, by giving her assurances of his favour in case he sent away Anthony, or put him to death. These ne- gociations were not so private but they came to the know- edge of Anthony, whose jealousy and rage every occur- ence now contributed to heighten. He built a small so- itary house upon a mole in the sea, and there shut him- elf up a prey to all those passions that are the tormentors f unsuccessful tyranny. There he passed his time, shunning all commerce with mankind, and professing to *imitate Timon, the man hater.* However, his furious

jealousy drove him even from his retreat into society; for hearing that Cleopatra had many secret conferences with one Thyrsus, an emissary from Augustus, he seized upon him, and having ordered him to be cruelly scourged, he sent him back to his patron. At the same time he sent letters by him, importing that he had chastised Thyrsus for insulting a man in misfortune; but withal he gave Augustus permission to avenge himself, by scourging Hiparchus, Anthony's freed man, in the same manner. The revenge in this case would have been highly pleasing to Anthony, as Hiparchus had left him to join the fortunes of his more successful rival.

Meanwhile the operations of the war were carried vigorously forward, and Egypt soon after became again the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Augustus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incursions. On the other side, Anthony, who had still considerable forces by sea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself that as soon as he should shew himself to the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to sound in order to hinder Anthony from being heard, so that he was obliged to retire.

Augustus himself was in the mean time advancing with another army before Pelusium, which by its strong situation, might have retarded his progress for some. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previously instructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take possession of the place; so that Augustus had now no obstacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Anthony, upon his arrival sallied out to oppose him, fighting with great desperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This slight advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and, being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the *palace, he* embraced Cleopatra, and presented her a soldier who had distinguished himself in the late engagement.

The queen rewarded him very magnificently, presenting him with and head piece and breast plate of gold. With these, however, the soldier went off the next night to the other army, prudently resolving to secure his riches by keeping on the strongest side. Anthony could not bear this defection without fresh indignation; he resolved therefore to make a bold expiring effort by sea and land, but previously offered to fight his adversary in single combat Augustus too well knew the inequality of their situations to comply with this forlorn offer; he only therefore coolly replied, that Anthony had ways enough to die besides by single combat.

The day after, he posted the few troops he had remaining upon a rising ground near the city, from whence he sent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a spectator of the combat; and at first he had the satisfaction to see them advance in good order: but his approbation was soon turned into rage, when he saw his ships only saluting those of Augustus, and both fleets uniting together and sailing back into the harbours At the same time his cavalry deserted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were easily vanquished, and he himself compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable. He could not help crying out aloud as he past, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to those who for her sake alone were his enemies. In these suspicions he was not deceived; for it was by secret orders from the queen that the fleet had past over to the enemy

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Anthony's jealousy, and had some time before prepared a method of obviating any sudden sallies it might produce. Near the temple of Isis she had erected a building, which was seemingly designed for a sepulchre Hither she removed all her treasures and most valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose, as well to screen her from the sudden resentments of Anthony, as to make Augustus believe that she would burn all her treasures, in case he refused *her proper* terms of capitulation. Here there-

fore she retired from Anthony's present fury, shutting the gates which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron; but in the mean time gave orders that a report should be spread of her death, which news soon reached Anthony, and recalled all his former love and tenderness. This poor wretch was now a being, subject to the gust of every passion, and each of them in extreme. He now lamented her death with the same violence he had but a few minutes before seemed to desire it. "Wretched man," cried he to himself: "what is there now worth living for, since all that could sooth or soften my cares is departed? "O Cleopatra," continued he, being got to his chamber *our-* "separation does not so much afflict me, as the disgrace "I suffer in permitting a woman to instruct me in the "ways of dying." He called one of his freed men, named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. Eros being commanded to perform his promise, this faithful follower drew the sword as if going to execute his orders; but turning his face, plunged it into his own bosom, and died at his master's feet. Anthony for a while hung over his faithful servant, and commending his fidelity, took up the sword, with which, stabbing himself in the belly, he fell backward upon a little couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come into the room to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with fright and horror. He therefore continued in this manner for some time, still crying out and writhing with pain, till he was informed by one of the queen's secretaries that his mistress was still alive. He then earnestly desired to be carried to the place where she was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the sepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords, with which, with some difficulty, they pulled him up. They gently laid him on a couch, where she gave way to her sorrow, tearing her clothes, beating her breast, and kissing the wound of which he was dying. Anthony entreated her to moderate the transports of her grief, asked for wine, and *exhorting* her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to

congratulate him upon his former felicity, to consider him as one who had lived the most powerful of men, and at last died by the hand of a Roman Just as he had done speaking he expired, and Proculus made his appearance by command of Augustus, who had been informed of Anthony's desperate conduct. He was sent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power. Augustus having a double motive for his solicitude on this occasion: one, to prevent her destroying the treasures she had taken with her into the tomb: the other, to preserve her person as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus except through the gate, which was very well secured. In the mean time, Gallus, one of Augustus's soldiers, entered with two more by the window at which Anthony had been drawn up; upon which Cleopatra, perceiving what happened, drew a poignard, and attempted to stab herself, but was prevented.

Augustus was extremely pleased at finding her in his power: he sent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her with the utmost circumspection. He was likewise ordered to use her in every respect with that deference and submission which were due to her rank, and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable. She was permitted to have the honour of granting Anthony the rites of burial, and furnished with every thing she desired that was becoming his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet still she languished under her new confinement: her excessive sorrow, her many losses, and the blows she had given her bosom, produced a fever, which she seemed willing to increase. She resolved to abstain from taking any nourishment, under the pretence of a regimen necessary for her disorder; but Augustus, being made acquainted with the real motive by her physician, began to threaten her with regard to her children in case she persisted.

In the mean time, Augustus made his entry into Alexandria, taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by conversing familiarly as he went along with Areus, a philosopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when

he placed himself upon the tribunal, they prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground before him, like criminals who waited the sentence of their execution. Augustus presently ordered them to rise, telling them that three motives induced him to pardon them His respect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendship for Areus, their fellow-citizen Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occasion; Anthony's eldest son Antyllus, and Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar, both betrayed into his hands by their respective tutors, who themselves suffered for their perfidy shortly after. As for the rest of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleness, leaving them to the care of those who were entrusted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing suitable to their birth. As for her, when she was recovered from her late indisposition, he came to visit her in person; she received him lying on a couch in a careless manner; and, upon his entering the apartment, rose up to prostrate herself before him. She was drest in nothing but a loose robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of severity to her features, her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping; yet still her natural beauty seemed to gleam through the distresses that surrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring softness of her looks, still bore testimony to the former power of her charms. Augustus raised her with his usual complaisance, and desiring her to sit, placed himself beside her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made use of every method she could think of to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties, and allurements, to obtain his favour, and soften his resentment. She began by attempting to justify her conduct; but when her art and skill failed against manifest proofs, she turned her defence into supplications. She talked of Cæsar's humanity to those in distress; she read some of his letters to her, full of tenderness, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had passed between them. "But of what service," cried she, "*are now* all his benefits to me? Why could I not die

"with him! Yet he still lives; methinks I see him still "before me; he revives in you." Augustus was no stranger to this method of address; but he remained firm against all attacks, answering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addressed his avarice, presenting him with an inventory of her treasures and jewels. This gave occasion to a very singular scene, which shews that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means so carefully attended to as at present. One of her stewards having alledged that the inventory was defective, and that she had secreted part of her effects, she fell into a violent passion, started from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him several blows on the face. Augustus smiled at her indignation; and leading her to the couch, desired her to be pacified. To this she replied, that she could not bear being insulted in the presence of one whom she so highly esteemed. "And supposing," cried she, "that I have secreted a few trifles, am I to blame when "they are reserved, not for myself, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope to make my intercessors with you?" This excuse, which intimated a desire of living, was not disagreeable to Augustus, who politely assured her that she was at liberty to keep whatever she had reserved, and that in every thing she should be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave and departed, imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being shewn in the intended triumph which he was preparing for his return to Rome: but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra all this time had kept a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth in the camp of Augustus, who, perhaps from compassion or stronger motives, was interested in her misfortunes: by him she was secretly informed that Augustus determined to send her off in three days, together with her children to Rome, to grace his triumphant entry. She now therefore determined upon dying; she now threw herself upon Anthony's coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner. She then feasted as usual, at

soon after ordered all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Augustus, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Anthony. Augustus, upon receiving the letter, instantly dispatched messengers to stop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch arrayed in her royal robes. Near her Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmion herself, almost expiring, was settling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Char-"mion?" "Yes," replied she, "it is well done; such a "death becomes a glorious queen, descended from a race "of noble ancestors." On pronouncing these words she fell down and died with her much loved mistress.

CHAP. XXII.

From the beginning of the reign of Augustus, to the death of Domitian the last of the twelve Cæsars.

By the death of Anthony, Augustus was now become master of the Roman empire. He soon after returned to Rome in triumph, where, by sumptuous feasts and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty, and from thenceforward resolved to secure, by his clemency, a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks that distinguished them from others, were totally lost. The city was now inhabited by a concourse from all the countries of the world, and being con-

sequently divested of all just patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the best form of government that could be found, to unite its members. However, it was very remarkable that, during these long contentions among themselves, and these horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it.

His first care was to assure himself of the friends of Anthony; to which end he publicly reported that he had burnt all Anthony's letters and papers without reading; convinced that, while any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship.

As he had gained the kingdom by his army, so also he resolved to govern it by the senate. This body though greatly fallen from their ancient splendour, he knew to be the best ordered, and most capable of wisdom and justice. To these therefore he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, while he still kept the people and the army stedfast to him by donatives and acts of favour. By these means all the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and all the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring to the senate their ancient splendour, and discountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority which none could refuse him; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to their duty. This in fact was reserving absolute dominion in his own hands: but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment; they considered themselves as restored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate supposed their power re-established in all things but their tendency to injustice. It was even said that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness that liberty could produce, and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occasion. This observation might have some truth under such a monarch as Augustus now seemed to be; but they were taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the

punishment that tyranny could inflict, or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different inclinations, and considered a long time whether he should keep the empire or restore the people to their ancient liberty. But he adopted the advice of Mæcenas, who desired him to continue in power, and was afterwards swayed by him not only in this instance but on every other occasion. By the instructions of that minister, he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice it was, that he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendship. They in their turn relieved his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise through the empire.

Thus having given peace and happiness to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the state to his person, he resolved upon impressing the people with an idea of his magnanimity also. This was nothing less than making a shew of resigning his authority; wherefore, having previously instructed his creatures in the senate how to act, he addressed them in a studied speech, importing the difficulty of governing so extensive an empire; a task which, he said, none but the immortal gods were equal to. He modestly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it: and then, with a degree of seeming generosity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he observed, his arms had gained, and the senate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to restore, giving them to understand that the true spirit of the Romans was not lost in him. This speech operated upon the senate variously, as they were more or less in the secret; many believed the sincerity of his professions, and therefore regarded his conduct as an act of unequalled heroism by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, distrusted his designs. Some there were who, having greatly suffered during the late popular commotions, were fearful of having them renewed; but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his interests, and instructed by his ministers, frequently attempt-

ed to interrupt him while speaking, and received his proposal with pretended indignation. These unanimously besought him not to resign the administration; but upon continuing to decline their request, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his person might be in greater security, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might seem to make some concessions on his side; they permitted the senate to govern the weak internal provinces of the empire, while the most powerful provinces, and those that required the greatest armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over these he assumed the government but for ten years, leaving the people still in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom, but at the same time laying his measures so well that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This shew of a resignation only served to confirm him in the empire and the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was then first called Augustus, a name I have hitherto used as that by which he is best known in history. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His house was called the palace, to distinguish it from that of ordinary citizens. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his person declared sacred and inviolable. In short, flattery seemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleasing him; but though he despised the arts of the senate, he permitted their homage, well knowing that among mankind titles produce a respect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth consulship, the senate by oath approved of all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They some time after offered to swear not to only all the laws he had made, but such as he should make for the future. It was then customary with father upon their death bed to command their children to carry oblations to the capitol, with this inscription, that at the day of their death they left Augustus in health. It was determined that no man should be put to death on such days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of provisions, *the people in a body entreated him to accept of the dictatorship: but,* though he undertook to be procurator

of the provisions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been abolished by a law made when Anthony was consul.

This accumulation of titles and employments did not in the least diminish his assiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He ordained that none should exhibit a shew of gladiators without orders from the senate, and then no oftener than twice a year; nor with more than an hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely necessary at so corrupt a period of the empire; when whole armies of these unfortunate men were brought at once upon the stage, and compelled to fight, often till half of them were slain. It had been usual also with the knights and some women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre, he ordered that not only they, but their children and grand children, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many that had refused to marry at a certain age, and rewarded such as had many children. He ordained that virgins should not be married till twelve years of age, and permitted any person to kill an adulterer taken in the act. He enacted that the senators should be always held in great reverence, adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law that no man should have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumission of slaves, and was himself very strict in the observance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, yet he would not permit women to be present at them, holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex to be spectators of these sports which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved against them they were obliged

to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own master; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another, which, altering the property, his examination became free. These, and many other laws, all tending to reform vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; so that the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens; for being placed above all equality he had nothing to fear from condescension; wherefore he was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though he was, by the single authority of his station, capable of condemning or acquitting whomsoever he thought proper, yet he gave laws their proper course, and even sometimes pleaded for those he desired to protect. Thus Primus, the governor of Macedonia, having a day assigned him for having made war upon the Odrisii, a neighbouring state, as he said, by the command of Augustus, the latter denied the charge. Upon which the advocate for Primus desired to know with an insolent air, what brought Augustus into court, or who had sent for him? To this the emperor submissively replied, "The Common-"wealth;" an answer which greatly pleased the people. Upon another occasion, one of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection in a certain cause; but Augustus taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah," replied the soldier, "it was not by "proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the salutations of the meanest persons. One day a person presented him a petition, but with so much awe that Augustus was displeased with his meanness. "What, friend," cried he, "you seem as if "you were offering something to an elephant, and not to "a man; be bolder." One day as he was sitting on the tribunal in judgment, Mæcenas, perceiving by his temper that he was inclined to be severe, attempted to speak to him: but not being able to get up to the tribunal for

the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written "arise executioner." Augustus read it without any displeasure, and immediately rising, pardoned those whom he was disposed to condemn. But what most of all shewed a total alteration in his disposition, was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conspiracy against him: but the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution. Augustus for some time debated with himself how to act; but at last his clemency prevailed; he therefore sent for those who were guilty, and after reprimanding them dismissed them all. But he was resolved to mortify Cinna by the greatness of his generosity; for addressing him in particular, "I have twice," says he, "given you your life, first as an enemy, now as a conspirator; I now give you the consulship; let us therefore be friends for the future; and let us only contend "in shewing whether my confidence or your fidelity "shall be victorious" This generosity, which the emperor very happily timed, had so good an effect, that from that instant all conspiracies ceased against him.

In the practice of such virtues as these he passed a long reign of above forty years, in which the happiness of the people seemed to conspire with his own, not but that there were wars in the distant provinces of the empire during almost the whole reign, but they were rather the quelling of insurrections than the extending of dominions; for he had made it a rule to carry on no operation in which ambition, and not the safety of the state, was concerned. In fact he seemed the first Roman who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone, and who obtained the affections of the soldiers without any military talents of his own. Nevertheless, the Roman arms under his lieutenants were crowned with success. The Cantabrians in Spain who had revolted were more than once quelled by Tiberius, his step son; Agrippa, his son in law, and Ælius Lama, who followed them to their inaccessible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them by famine to surrender at discretion The Germans also gave some uneasiness by their repeated incursions into the territories of Gaul but were repressed

by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. The Bessi and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piso, governor of Pamphylia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repressed with more than one defeat: the Armenians also were brought into due subjection by Caius, his grandson. The Getulians in Africa took up arms; but were subdued by the consul Caius Cossus, who thence received the surname of Getulicus. A dangerous war also was carried on against the Dalamatians and Pannonians, who, having acquired great strength by the continuance of a long peace, gathered an army of two hundred thousand foot and nine thousand horse, threatening Rome itself with destruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy with the utmost expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts, and Augustus went to Arminium for the greater convenience of giving his directions. And indeed, though personal valour was by no means his shining ornament, yet no man could give wiser orders upon every emergency, or go with greater dispatch into all parts of his dominions than he. This war continued near three years, being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus; the latter of whom gained reputation against these fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Bato, their leader, being summoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and being demanded how he could offer to revolt against the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, "That "the Romans, and not he, were the aggressors; since "they had sent, instead of dogs and shepherds to secure "their flocks, only wolves and bears to devour them." But the war, which was most fatal to the Roman interests during this reign, was that which was managed by Quintillius Varus. This general U C. invading the territories of the Germans, was 752. induced to follow the enemy among their forests and marshes with his army in separate bodies: there he was attacked by night, and entirely cut off, with his whole army. These were the best and choicest legions of the whole empire, either for valour, discipline, or experience. The affliction from this defeat seemed to sink

very deep upon the mind of Augustus. He was often heard to cry out in a tone of anguish, "Quintillius Varus "restore me my legions;" and some historians pretend to say that he never after recovered the former serenity of his temper.

But he had some uneasiness of a domestic nature in his own family that contributed to distress him: he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the consent of her husband, at a time she was six months gone with child. This was an imperious woman, and, conscious of being beloved, she controlled him ever after at her pleasure. She had two sons by her former husband, Tiberius the elder, whom she greatly loved; and Drusus, who was born three months after she had been married to Augustus, and who was thought to be his own son. The eldest of these, Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who succeeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a suspicious and obstinate temper; so that though he was serviceable to Augustus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him but little quiet at home. He was at last obliged to go into exile for five years to the island of Rhodes, where he chiefly spent his time in a retired manner, conversing with the Greeks, and addicting himself to literature; of which however he made afterwards but a bad use. Drusus, the son of Livia, died in his return from an expedition against the Germans, leaving Augustus inconsolable for his loss. But his greatest affliction was the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman he married to his general Agrippa, and after his death to Tiberius, set no bounds to her lewdness. Not contented with enjoying her pleasures, she seemed also earnest in procuring the infamy of her prostitutions. Augustus for a long time would not believe the accounts he daily heard of her conduct, but at last could not help observing them. He found she was arrived at that excess of wantonness and prodigality that she had her nocturnal appointments in the most public parts of the city; the very court where her father presided not being exempt from her debaucheries. He at first had thoughts of putting her to death; but after some consideration he banished her to Pandataria, forbidding her

the use of wine, and all such delicacies, as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered also that no person should come near her without his own permission, and sent her mother Scribonia with her to bear her company. Afterwards, whenever any attempted to intercede for Julia, his answer was, "That fire and water should sooner unite than he with her." When some persons one day were more than usually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven to such an extremity of passion as to wish that they might have such a daughter. However, she had two sons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, from whom great expectations were formed; but they died when scarcely arrived at man's estate; Lucius about five years after his father, at Marseilles, and Caius two years after. Augustus having now, in a great measure, survived all his contemporaries, at length, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring from the fatigues of state, and in some measure of continuing Tiberius, his son in law by Livia, his successor in his usual employments. He desired the senate to salute him no longer at the palace according to custom; nor to take it amiss, if, for the future, he could not converse with them as formerly. From that time Tiberius was joined in the government of the provinces with him, and invested with almost the same authority. U. C. 766. However, Augustus could not entirely forsake the administration of the state, which habit had mixed with his satisfactions; he still continued a watchful guardian of its interests, and shewed himself to the last a lover of his people. Finding it now therefore very inconvenient to come to the senate by reason of his age, he desired to have twenty privy counsellors assigned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever measures were resolved upon by them, together with the consuls, they should have entirely the force of a law. He seemed in some measure apprehensive of his approaching end, for he made his will, and delivered it to the vestal virgins. He then solemnized the census, or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand; which shews Rome to be equal to four of the greatest cities of modern times.

While these ceremonies were performing by a mighty concourse of people in the Campus Martius, it is said that an eagle flew round the emperor several times, and directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa, which was by the augurs conceived to portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius in his march into Illyria as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhœa. Returning therefore from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for Tiberius with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. A few hours before his death he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be adjusted with more than usual care He then addressed his friends whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and desired to know whether he had properly played his part in life; to which being answered in the affirmative, he cried out with his last breath, "then give me your applause;" and thus, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arms of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewel

The death of the emperor when known caused inexpressible grief throughout the whole Roman empire; it was even supposed that his wife Livia had some hand in hastening it, willing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However this be, she took care for some time to keep it concealed, having guarded all the passeges to the palace; sometimes giving out that he recovered, and pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession to her mind, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with great magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved began a consolatory oration to them; but suddenly stopped in the beginning of his speech, as unable to restrain the violence of his sorrow; and, instead of continuing, gave his notes to Drusus his son who read them to the senate. After this, one of the late emperor's freed men publicly read his will in the senate house, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia *his heirs;* and by that Livia was likewise adopted into the

Julian family, and honoured with the name of Augusta. Besides his will, four other writings of his were produced. One, in which he had left instructions concerning his funeral; another, containing an enumeration of his several exploits; a third, comprising an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues of the empire: and a fourth, a schedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Among these it was found to be his opinion, that no man, how great a favourite soever he might be, should be entrusted with too much authority, least it should induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none should desire to enlarge the empire which was already preserved with difficulty. Thus he seemed studious of serving his country to the very last, and the sorrow of the people seemed equal to his assiduity. It was decreed, that all the women should mourn for him a whole year. Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a senator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large sum of money for swearing that he saw him ascending into heaven; so that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Augustus, whose power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness of his subjects; so that it was said of him, "That it had "been good for mankind if he had never been born, "or if he never had died." It is very probable that the cruelties exercised in his triumvirate were suggested by his colleagues; or, perhaps, he thought, in the case of Cæsar's death, that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that these severities were in some measure necessary to restore public tranquillity; for, until the Romans pirit was entirely eradicated, no monarchy could be secure. He gave the government an air suited to the disposition of the times; he indulged his subjects in the pride of seeing the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last virtue he seems to have excelled most monarchs; and indeed,

could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be one of the most faultless princes in history.

U. C. 765. A. D. 15. Tiberius was fifty-six years old when he took upon him the government of the Roman empire. He had long lived in a profound state of dissimulation under Augustus, and was not yet hardy enough to shew himself in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generosity, and clemency. But the successes of Germanicus, his nephew, over the Germans, first brought his natural dispositions to light, and discovered the malignity of his mind without disguise. He soon therefore, began to consult on the most specious means of humbling the popularity of Germanicus, and removing this object of his suspicions. For this purpose he dispatched Piso to Germanicus, a person of a furious and head strong temper, and in every respect fit to execute those fatal purposes for which he was designed. His instructions were to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion, and to excite all the hatred against him which, without suspicion, he could, and even to procure his death if an opportunity should offer. This agent succeeded; Germanicus died soon after; and, as it was universally believed by poison.

Having now no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the mask entirely, and appear more in his natural character than before. In the beginning of his cruelties he took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his confidence by the most refined degree of dissimulation, being an overmatch for his master in his own arts. It is not well known whether he was the adviser of all the cruelties that ensued soon after; but certain it is, that from the beginning of his ministry Tiberius seemed to become more fatally suspicious.

Sejanus began by using all his address to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. By this he expected many advantages, since there could be no access to the emperor but by him. The emperor, either prevailed upon by his persuasions, or pursuing the natural turn of his temper, which led to indolence

and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Augustus. Still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and distresses, he withdrew himself into that most delightful island of Caprea, three miles from the continent, and opposite Naples. Buried in this retreat, he gave himself up to his abandoned pleasures, quite regardless of the miseries of his subjects.

In fact, it had been happy for mankind had he given up his suspicions when he declined the fatigues of reigning, and resigned the will to do harm when he divested himself of the power of doing good. But from the time of his retreat he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to increase his distrusts. Secret spies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the most harmless actions into subjects of offence.

In consequence of this, Nero and Drusus, the children of Germanicus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison, while Agrippina, their mother, was sent into banishment. Sabinus, Asinius Gallus, and Syriacus, were, upon slight pretences, condemned and executed. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and every day increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded even those of the emperor; people swore by his fortune in the same manner as they would have done had he been actually upon the throne; and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of his downfal. All we know of his first disgrace with the emperor is, that Satirus Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him of treason; and Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, seconded the accusation. The senate, who had long been jealous of his power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond the orders of Tiberius, and instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, they directed his execution. As he was conducting to his fate the people loaded him with insult and execration. He

was pursued with sarcastic reproaches; his statues were instantly thrown down, and he himself shortly after strangled by the executioner

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for farther executions. Plancina, the wife of Piso, Sextus Vestilius, Vescularius Atticus, and Julius Marinus, were executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus. He began to grow weary of particular executions, and gave orders that all the accused should be put to death together, without further examination. The whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning When one Carnulius had killed himself to avoid the torture: "Ah," cried *Tiberius*, "how has that man been able to escape me!" When a prisoner earnestly entreated that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not sufficiently "your friend to shorten your torments."

In this manner he lived, odious to all the world, and troublesome to himself; an enemy to the lives of others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his dissolution, and all his appetites totally to forsake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a successor, and at length fixed upon Caligula; willing, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, with which he was well acquainted, to cover the memory of his own.

Still, however, he seemed willing to avoid his end, and strove, by change of place to put off the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favorite island, and went upon the continent; and at last fixed at the promontory of Misenum, in a house that formerly belonged to Lucullus. It was there that he fell into such faintings as all believed were fatal. Caligula supposing him actually dead, caused himself to be acknowledged by the prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment amidst the applauses of the multitude; when, all of a sudden, he was informed that the emperor was recovered, that he had begun to speak, and desired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm: every one who had before been in earnest in testifying their joy now reassumed their pretended sorrow, and left the new emperor through a feigned solicitude for the fate of the old.

Caligula seemed thunderstruck: he preserved a gloomy silence expecting nothing but death instead of the empire at which he had aspired. Macro, however, who was hardened in crimes, ordered that the dying emperor should be dispatched, by smothering him with pillows, or, as others will have it, by poison. In this manner Tiberius died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, after reigning twenty-two. U. C. 790. A. D. 39.

It was in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign that Christ was crucified, as if the universal depravity of mankind wanted no less a sacrifice than that of God himself to reclaim them. Shortly after his death Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his passion, resurrection, and miracles; upon which the emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be accounted a God by the Romans. But the senate, being displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to allow his apotheosis, alledging an ancient law which gave them the superintendance in all matters in religion. They even went so far as, by an edict, to command that all Christians should leave the city; but Tiberius, by another act, threatened death to all such as should accuse them; by which means they continued unmolested during the rest of his reign.

All the enormities of Caligula were concealed in the beginning of his reign. But it had been happy for him and the empire had such a beginning been as strenuously maintained. In less than eight months all appearance of moderation and clemency vanished; while furious passions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty began to take their turn in his mind. Pride, impiety, lust, avarice, and all in the extreme, were every moment brought forward.

His pride first began by assuming to himself the title of ruler, which was usually granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised that he was already superior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the name of such divinities as he thought most agreeable to his nature. For this purpose he caused

the heads of the statues of Jupiter and some other gods to be struck off, and his own to be put in their places. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all who came to their temple to worship should pay their adorations only to him. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes. Being at one time a male deity, at another a female; sometimes Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his statue of gold was every day drest in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was worshipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous; the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by the most opulent men of the city. However he admitted his wife and his horse to that honor: and, to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a priest to himself. His method of assuming the manners of a deity was not less ridiculous: he often went out in the full moon, and courted it in the stile of a lover. He often invited it to his bed, to taste the pleasures of his embraces. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out with a speech of Homer, "Do you conquer me, or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies, threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes however, he would assume a better temper, and seemed contented that they two should dwell together in amity.

Of all his vices his prodigality was the most remarkable, and that which in some measure gave rise to the rest. The luxuries of former emperors were simplicity itself when compared to those which he practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, where the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted with the utmost profusion. He found out dishes of immense value, and had even jewels, as we are told, dissolved among his sauces. He sometimes had services of pure gold presented before

his guest instead of meat, observing, that a man should be an œconomist or an emperor.

The expensive manner in which he maintained his horse will give some idea of his domestic œconomy. He built it a stable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed centinels near its stable the night preceding to prevent its slumbers from being broken He appointed it an house, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its visitors with proper respect. The emperor sometimes invited Incitatus to his own table, presented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup He often swore by the safety of his horse; and it is said he would have appointed it to the consulship had not his death prevented.

His impiety was but subordinate to his cruelties. He slew many of the senate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had killed themselves. He cast great numbers of old and infirm men, and poor decrepid housekeepers to wild beasts, to free the state from such unserviceable citizens. He usually fed his wild beasts with the bodies of those wretches whom he condemned, and every tenth day sent off numbers of them to be thus devoured, which he jocosely called clearing his accounts. One of those who was thus exposed, crying out that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with slow tortures, that, as he exprest it, they might feel themselves dying; being always present at such executions, himself directing the duration of the punishment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than this unrelenting temper and inflexible severity, which he preserved while presiding at an execution At one time being incensed with the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck that he might dispatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many secret conspiracies against him; but these were for a while deferred upon account of his intended expedition

against the Germans and Britons, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose he caused numerous levies to be made in all parts of the empire, and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper: sometimes it was so rapid that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and ordered all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea shore in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which, coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given as if for an engagement; upon which his men, having had previous orders, immediately fell to gathering the shells that lay upon the shore into their helmets, terming them the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together as a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their atchievements; and then distributed money among them, dismissed them with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he caused a lofty tower to be erected by the sea side, and ordered the gallies in which he had put to sea to be conveyed to Rome, in a great measure by land.

U. C 793
A. D. 41.

Cassius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands, was the person who at last freed the world of this tyrant. Besides the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who

took all occasions of turning him to ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watchword from the emperor, according to custom, he always gave him either Venus, Adonis, or some such, implying effeminacy, and softness He therefore secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula; among whom was Valerius Asiaticus, whose wife the emperor had debauched. Anius Vinicianus also was desirous of engaging in the first design that offered. Besides these, were Clemens the præfect, and Calistus, whose riches made him obnoxious to the tyrant's resentment.

While these were deliberating upon the most certain and speedy method of destroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. Pompedius, a senator of distinction, having been accused before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the informer cited one Quintilia, an actress, to confirm his accusation: Quintilia, however, was possessed of a degree of fortitude not easily found even in the other sex. She denied the fact with obstinacy; and being put to the torture at the informer's request, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what is most remarkable of her resolution is, that she was acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and although Cherea was the person appointed to preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was led to the rack, she trod upon the toe of one of the conspirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. In this manner she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated; and in that deplorable state was presented to the emperor, who ordered her a gratuity for what she had suffered. Cherea could no longer contain his indignation at being thus made the instrument of a tyrant's cruelty. After several deliberations with the conspirators, it was at last resolved to attack him during the continuance of the Palatine games, which lasted four days; and to strike the

blow when his guards should have the least opportunity to defend him. In consequence of this, the three first days of the games passed without affording any opportunity. Cherea now therefore began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conspiracy might be a means to divulge it; he even began to dread that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person more bold than himself; wherefore, he at last resolved to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following, when Caligula should pass through a private gallery to some baths not far distant from the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest, and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He took great amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruits and other rarities, thrown by his order among them, and seemed no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time the conspiracy began to transpire; and, had he had any friends left, it would not fail of being discovered. A senator, who was present, asking one of his acquaintances if he had heard any thing new, the other replying in the negative, "then you must know," says he, "that "this day will be represented the death of a ty-"rant." The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be more cautious how he divulged a secret of so much importance. The conspirators waited a great part of the day with the most extreme anxiety; and, at one time, Caligula, seemed resolved to spend the whole day without any refreshment. This unexpected delay entirely exasperated Cherea; and, had he not been restrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his design in the midst of all the people. Just at that instant, while he was yet hesitating what he should do, Asprenas, one of the conspirators, persuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take some slight refreshment, in order to enjoy the rest of the entertainment with greater relish. The emperor therefore rising up, the conspirators used every precaution to keep off the throng, and to surround him, under pretence of greater assiduity. And these, upon his entering into a little vaulted gallery that led from the theatre to the bath, resolved to dispatch him. Cherea first struck him to the ground with his dagger, crying out, "Tyrant,

think upon this" Immediately after the other conspirators rushed in; and, while the emperor continued to resist, crying out that he was not yet dead, they dispatched him with thirty wounds.

Such was the merited death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a short reign of three years, ten months, and eight days It will be unnecessary to add any thing more to his character than what Seneca says of him, namely, that nature seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what was possible to be produced from the greatest vice, supported by the greatest authority.

As soon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greatest confusion in all parts of the city. The conspirators, who only aimed at destroying a tyrant without attending to a successor, had all sought safety by retiring to private places. Some soldiers happening to run about the palace discovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a secret place, where he had hid himself through fear. Of this personage, who had hitherto been despised for his imbecility, they resolved to make an emperor, and accordingly carried him upon their shoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death, and the senate confirmed their choice. U. C. 794. A. D 42.

Claudius was now fifty years old when he began to reign. The complicated diseases of his infancy had in some measure affected all the faculties both of his body and mind. He was continued in a state of pupilage much longer than was usual at that time, and seemed in every part of life incapable of conducting himself.

The commencement of his reign, as it was with all the other bad emperors, gave the most promising hopes of an happy continuance. He began by passing an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and disannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He shewed himself more moderate than his predecessors with regard to titles and honours. He forbade all persons, upon severe penalties, to sacrifice to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was assiduous in hearing and examining complaints, and frequently administered justice in person, tempering by *his mildness, the* severity of strict justice.

To his solicitude for the internal advantages of the state he added that of a watchful guardianship over the provinces. He restored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipa, his uncle, the man who had put John the Baptist to death, and who was banished by order of the present emperor. Claudius also restored such princes to their kingdoms as had been unjustly dispossessed by his predecessors, but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their liberty, for having promoted insurrection, and crucified some citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conquest. The Britons, who had for near an hundred years been left in sole possession of their own Island, began to seek the mediation of Rome, to quell their intestine commotions. The principal man who desired to subject his native country to the Roman dominion was one Bericus, who, by many arguments, persuaded the emperor to make a descent upon the Island, magnifying the advantages that would attend the conquest of it. In pursuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius, the prætor was ordered to pass over into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At first, indeed, his soldiers seemed backward to embark; declaring, that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown.

These successes soon after induced Claudius
A. D. 46. to go into Britain in person, upon pretence that the natives were still seditious, and had not delivered up some Roman fugitives, who had taken shelter among them. However, his expedition seemed rather calculated for shew than service: the time he continued in Britain, which was in all but sixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage than extending his conquests. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome. The senate decreed him a splendid triumph; triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories. In the

mean time war was vigorously prosecuted by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh under the government of Ostorius, who A. D. 51. succeeded Plautius. The Britons either despising him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a person newly come to command, rose up in arms and disclaimed the Roman power. The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He, with great conduct, removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

This general, however, upon the approach of Ostorius, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive engagement, addressed his countrymen with calm resolution, telling them, that this battle would either establish their liberty or confirm their servitude: that they ought to remember the bravery of their ancestors, by whose valour they were delivered from taxes and tributes; and that this was the time to shew themselves equal to their progenitors. Nothing, however, that undisciplined valour could perform could avail against the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obstinate fight the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he himself, seeking refuge from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man who had for so many years braved the power of the empire. On his part he testified no marks of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him, "Alas," cried he,

"how is it possible that people, possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus, an humble cottage in Britain!" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives sued for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to accept of pardon, than meanly solicitous of suing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his speech, "I had "yielded immediately, and without opposition, neither "my fortune would have been remarkable, nor my glory "memorable: you would have ceased to be victorious, and "I had been forgotten. If now therefore you spare my "life, I shall continue a perpetual example of your cle-"mency." Claudius had the generosity to pardon him; and Ostorius was decreed a triumph, which however he did not live to enjoy.

Claudius gave in the beginning of his reign the highest hopes of a happy continuance; but he soon began to lessen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince had from his infancy been in a state of pupilage; and now, when called to govern, he was unable to act but under the direction of others. The chief of his instructors was his wife Messalina, whose name is almost become a common appellation for women of abandoned characters.

By her was Claudius urged on to commit cruelties, which he considered only as wholesome severities, while her debaucheries became every day more notorious, and her lewdness exceeded what had ever been seen in Rome. Her crimes and enormities, however, being at length discovered, she, together with her paramour, Caius Silius, suffered that death they so justly deserved.

Claudius took for his second wife Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, a woman of a cruel and ambitious spirit, whose whole aim being to procure the succession for Nero her son by a former marriage, treated Claudius with such haughtiness, that he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to suffer the disorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expression sunk deep on her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. She there-

fore resolved not to defer a crime which she had meditated a long while before, which was to poison him. She for some time, however, debated with herself in what manner she should administer the poison, as she feared too strong a dose would discover her treachery, and one too weak might fail of its effect. At length she determined upon a poison of singular efficacy to destroy his intellects, and yet not suddenly to terminate his life. As she had been long conversant in this horrid practice she applied to a woman called Locusta, notorious for assisting on such occasions. The poison was given the emperor among mushrooms, a dish he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten he dropped down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual with him to sit eating till he had stupified all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table. However, his constitution seemed to overcome the effects of the poison, when Agrippina resolved to make sure of him; wherefore she directed a wretched physician, who was her creature, to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and this dispatched him.

Nero, though but seventeen years of age began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. He appeared just, liberal, and humane; when a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with seeming concern, "Would to heaven that I "had never learned to write!" U C 793. A D. 55.

But as he increased in years his crimes seemed to increase in equal proportion. The execution of his own mother Agrippina was the first alarming instance he gave of his cruelty. Having attempted to get her drowned at sea, failing in this, he ordered her to be put to death in her palace; and coming in person to gaze upon the dead body, was heard to say, that he never thought his mother had been so handsome.

All the bounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero now gave a loose to his appetites, that were not only sordid but inhuman. There seemed an odd contrast in his disposition; for while he practised cruelties, which were sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was

fond of those amusing arts that soften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from his childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry; but chariot driving was his favourite pursuit; and all these he frequently was seen to exhibit in public.

But it had been happy for mankind had he confined himself to these; and contented with being contemptible, sought not to become formidable also. His cruelties even outdid all his other extravagancies. He seemed even studious of finding out pleasures as well as crimes against nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil like a bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable companions called Pythagoris, and again to his freed man Deriphorus. On the other hand, that he might be every way detestable, he became the husband of a youth named Sporus, whom he had previously deprived of the marks of virility. A great part of the city of Rome was consumed by fire in his time; and most historians ascribed the conflagration to him. It is said that he stood upon a high tower during the continuance of the flames enjoying the sight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, some verses upon the destruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occasion, none were permitted to lend any assistance towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alledging that they had orders for so doing. However this be, the emperor, used every art to throw the odium of so detestable an action from himself, and to fix it upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them upon this false accusation. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and in that figure devoured by dogs. Some were crucified, and others burnt alive. "When the day was not sufficient for their tortures, the flames in which they perished," says Tacitus, "served to illuminate the night;" while Nero dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with their tortures from his gardens, and entertained the people at one time with their *sufferings*, at another with the games of the circus. In *this persecution* St. Paul was beheaded, and St. Peter was

crucified with his head downwards; which death he chose, as being more dishonourable than that of his Divine Master.

A conspiracy formed against Nero by Piso, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely discovered, opened a new train of suspicion that destroyed many of the principal families in Rome. The two most remarkable personages who fell on this occasion were Seneca, the philosopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. Nero, either having real testimony against him, or else hating him for his virtues, sent a tribune to Seneca, informing him that he was suspected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philosopher at table with Paulina his wife, and informing him of his business, Seneca replied without any emotion that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accustomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this answer was brought to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca seemed afraid to die. The tribune replying that he did not appear in the least terrified; "Then go to him again," cried the emperor, "and give "him my orders to die." Accordingly he sent a centurion to Seneca, signifying that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should die. Seneca seemed no way discomposed, and was not unmindful of his constancy. He endeavoured to console his wife for his loss, and exhort her to a life of persevering virtue. But she seemed resolved on not surviving him, and pressed her request to be with him so earnestly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at last gave his consent, and the veins of both their arms were opened at the same time. As Seneca, was old and much enfeebled by the austerities of his life, the blood flowed but slowly, so that he caused the veins of his legs and thighs to be opened also. His pains were long and violent, but they were not capable of repressing his fortitude or his eloquence. He dictated a discourse to two secretaries, which was read with great avidity after his death by the people, but which has since perished in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at last demanded poison from his *physician*; but this also failed of its effect, his

body being already exhausted, and incapable of exciting its operation. He was from this carried into a warm bath, which only served to prolong his end; at length, therefore, he was put into a dry stove, the vapour of which quickly dispatched him. In the mean time, his wife Paulina having fallen into a swoon with the loss of blood, had her arms bound up by her domestics, and by this means survived her husband for some years; but by her conduct during the rest of her life, she seemed always mindful of her own love and his example.

The death of Lucan was not less remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened after he had lost a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, while the vital parts still continued warm and vigorous, he called to mind a description in his own poem of the Pharsalia, of a person dying in similar circumstances, and expired while he was repeating that beautiful passage:

"Nec sicut vulnere sanguis
"Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis
"——Pars ultima trunci.
"Tradidit in cetum vacuos, vitalibus artus,
"At tumidos qua pulmo jacet qua viscera fervent
"Hæserunt ibi fata diu: Luctataque multum
"Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt."

U. C. 817. A. D. 66

The death of Petronius about this time is too remarkable to be past over in silence. This person, whom many modern historians suppose to be the author of a work of no great merit, entitled Satyricon, which is still remaining, was an Epicurean both in principle and practice. In so luxurious a court as that of Nero, he was particularly noted for his refinements in luxury. He was accused of being privy to Piso's conspiracy, and committed to prison. Petronius could not endure the anxiety of suspense, wherefore he resolved upon putting himself to death, which he performed in a manner entirely similar to that in which he had lived. He opened his veins, and then closed them as he thought least painful, with the utmost cheerfulness and tranquility. He conversed with his friends, not upon *maxims of* philosophy or grave subjects, but upon such

topics as had amused his gayest revels. He listened while they recited the lightest poems, and by no action, no word, nor circumstance, shewed the perplexity of a dying person. Shortly after him Numicius Thermus was put to death, as likewise Barea Soranus, and Pætus Thrasea. The destroying the two last, Tacitus calls an attack upon virtue itself. Thrasea died in the midst of his friends and philosophers, conversing and reasoning on the nature of the soul. His wife, who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, was desirous of following her mother's example, but he dissuaded her from it. The death of the valiant Corbulo, who had gained Nero so many victories over the Parthians, followed next. Nor did the empress Poppea herself escape, whom, in a fit of anger, he kicked when she was pregnant, by which she miscarried and died. At length human nature grew weary of bearing her persecutor, and the whole world seemed to rouse, as if by common consent, to rid the earth of a monster.

Sergius Galba, who was at that time governor of Spain was remarkable for his wisdom in peace, and his courage in war; but as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for some years had seemed willing to court obscurity, giving himself up to an inactive life, and avoiding all opportunity of signalizing his valour.

But willing to rid his country of a monster, he accepted the invitation of Vindix to march with an army towards Rome. The reputation of that general was such, that, from the moment he declared against Nero, the tyrant considered himself as undone. He received the account as he was at supper, and instantly struck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two crystal vases of immense value. He then fell into a swoon, from which when he recovered, he tore his clothes, and struck his head, crying out, "that he was utterly undone." He now, therefore, called for Locusta to furnish him with poison; and thus prepared for the worst, he retired to the Servilian gardens with a resolution of flying into Egypt. Being prevented in this, and the revolt becoming general, he went in person, from house to house, but all the doors were shut against him, and none were found to answer

his inquiries. Being now reduced to a state of desperation, he desired that one of his favourite gladiators might come and dispatch him; but even in this request there was none found to obey. "Alas!" cried he, "have I "neither friend nor enemy!" And then running desperately forth, seemed resolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But just then his courage beginning to fail him he made a sudden stop, as if willing to recollect his reason, and asked for some secret place, where he might reassume his courage, and meet death with a becoming fortitude. In his distress, Phaon, one of his freed men, offered him his country house, about four miles distant, where he might for some time remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer, and half dressed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horseback, attended by four of his domestics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though short, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning from heaven next flashed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp, and the cries of the soldiers, imprecating a thousand evils upon his head. A passenger meeting him on the way, cried, "There go men in pursuit of Nero." Another asked him if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body that lay on the road, he dropped his handkerchief, and a soldier who was near, addressed him by name. He now, therefore, quitted his horse, and, forsaking the highway, entered a thicket that led towards the back part of Phaon's house, through which he crept, making the best of his way among the reeds and brambles, with which the place was overgrown. During this interval the senate, finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die, "more majorum;" that is, according to the rigor of the ancient laws. When he was told of the resolution of the senate against him, he asked the messenger what was meant by being punished according to the rigor of the ancient laws? to this he was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture be-

was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poignards which he had brought with him, and examining their points, returned them to their sheaths, pretending that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were used at funerals: he next entreated that some of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, "Does this become Nero? is this "trifling well timed? No, no, let me be courageous." In fact he had no time to spare, for the soldiers who had been sent in pursuit of him were just then approaching the house; wherefore, hearing the sound of the horses feet, he set a dagger to his throat, with which by the assistance of Epaphroditus, his freed man, and secretary, he gave himself a mortal wound. However, he was not yet quite dead when one of the centurions entering the room and pretending he came to his relief, attempted to stop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a stern countenance, said, "It is now too late. Is "this your fidelity?" Upon which with his eyes fixed, and frightfully staring, he expired, even in death a ghastly spectacle of innoxious tyranny.

He reigned thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-second year of his age.

Galba was seventy-two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions. However, he soon found that his being raised to the throne was but an inlet to new disquietudes. He seemed to have three objects in view. To curb the insolence of the soldiers, to punish those vices which had come to an enormous height in the last reign, and to replenish the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality of his predecessors. However, permitting himself to be governed by favourites, he at one time shewed himself severe and frugal, at another remiss and prodigal, condemning some illustrious persons without any hearing and pardoning others though guilty. In consequence of this many seditions were kindled and several factions promoted in different parts of the empire, but particularly in Germany.

U C 821. A D 69.

Galba, being informed of these commotions, was sensible that besides his age, he was less respected for want of an heir. He resolved therefore to put what he had formerly designed in execution and to adopt some person whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favourites understanding his determination instantly resolved on giving him an heir of their own choosing; so that there arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alledging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba, being fully resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit; and on a day appointed, ordered Piso Licinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba, and had no other interest but merit to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth therefore by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct shewed that he was highly deserving this distinction; in all his deportment there appeared such modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging than ambitious of obtaining his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion; they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarices. The adoption therefore of Piso was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of universal depravity.

Otho, who had long been a favourite of Galba, and hoping to be adopted his successor in the empire, finding his hopes disappointed, and still further stimulated by the immense load of debts which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, resolved upon obtaining the empire by force, since he could not by peaceable succession. *Having corrupted* the fidelity of the soldiers, he stole *secretly from* the emperor while he was sacrificing, and *assembling* the soldiers, in a short speech, urged the cruel-

ties, and the avarice of Galba. Finding the invectives received with universal shouts by the whole army, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, immediately seconded his views: and taking Otho upon their shoulders immediately declared him emperor; and, to strike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their swords drawn, into the camp.

Soon after, finding the emperor in some measure deserted by his adherents, the soldiers rushed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the forum under foot. Galba, seeing them approach, seemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and bending his head forward, bid the assassins strike it off if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed; and his head being set upon the point of a lance, was presented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuously carried round the camp, his body remaining unburied in the streets, till it was interred by one of his slaves.

He died in the seventy-third year of his age, A D. 69, after a short reign of seven months; as illustrious by his own virtues as it was contaminated by the vices of his favourites, who shared in his downfal.

Otho, who was now elected emperor, began his reign by a signal instance of clemency in pardoning Marius Celsus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the highest honours; asserting, that "fidelity deserved every reward."

In the mean time, the legions in Lower Germany, having been purchased by the large gifts and specious promises of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and regardless of the senate, they declared, that they had an equal right to appoint to that high station with the cohorts at Rome.

Otho departed from Rome with all haste, to give Vitellius battle. The army of Vitellius, which consisted of seventy thousand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecinna, he himself remaining in Gaul in order to bring up the rest of his forces. Both sides hastened to *meet each other* with so much animosity and precipitation, that three considerable battles were fought in the

space of three days. One near Placentia, another near Cremona, and a third at a place called Castor; in all which Otho and the Romans had the advantage But these successes were but of short lived continuance, for Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately joining their forces, and reinforcing their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement. In this Otho's forces were totally overthrown, and he killed himself shortly after, having reigned three months and five days.

A. D. 70. Vitellius was immediately after declared emperor by the senate, and received the marks of distinction which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city not as a place he came to govern with justice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conquest.

Vitellius soon gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness; but gluttony was his favourite vice, so that he brought himself to an habit of vomiting in order to be able to renew his meals at pleasure. His entertainments, though seldom at his own cost, were prodigiously expensive; he frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects, breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third, all in the same day.

By the continuance of such vices, added to enormous cruelties, he became not only a burden to himself, but odious to all mankind. Thus, having become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the east, who had at first acquiesced in his dominions, began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolved to make Vespasian emperor.

During the preparations against him, Vitellius, though buried in sloth and luxury, was resolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to make all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy, with an hostile intention, was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna near Cremona. A battle was expected to ensue, but a negociation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done, and

imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and in the morning, after a short repast, both armies engaged a second time; when the soldiers of Antonius, saluting the rising sun, according to custom, the Vitellians, supposing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themselves to flight, with the loss of thirty thousand men.

In the mean time, Vitellius, who was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and excess, made offers to Vespasian of resigning the empire, provided his life was spared, and a sufficient revenue alloted for his support. In order to enforce this request, he issued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domestics weeping around him. He then went to offer the sword of justice to Becilius the consul, which he refusing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the ensigns of empire in the temple of Concord; but being interrupted by some who cried out that he himself was Concord, he resolved upon so weak an encouragement, still to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counsels, one Sabinus, who had advised Vitellius to resign, perceiving his desperate situation, resolved, by a bold step, to oblige Vespasian, and accordingly seized upon the capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the soldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury, and, prevailing by their numbers, soon laid that beautiful building in ashes. During this dreadful conflagration Vitellius was feasting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding all the horrors of the assault with great satisfaction. Sabinus was taken prisoner, and shortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, escaped by flight in the habit of a priest, and all the rest who survived the fire were put to the sword.

But Antonius, Vespasian's commander, arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius resolved upon defending it to the utmost extremity. It was attacked on three sides with the utmost fury, while the army within sallying upon the besiegers, defended it with equal obstinacy. The battle lasted a whole day, till at last the be-

sieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful slaughter made of them in all the streets which they vainly attempted to defend.

Vitellius was soon found hidden in an obscure corner, from whence he was taken by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miserable life, he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome, pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were vain, the soldiers binding his hands behind him, and throwing an halter round his neck, led him along half naked into the public forum, upbraiding him, as they proceeded, with all those bitter reproaches their malice could suggest, or his own cruelty might deserve. At length, being come to the place of punishment, they killed him with many blows; and then dragging the dead body through the streets with an hook, they threw it, with all possible ignominy, into the river Tiber.

A. D. 70 Vespasian was now declared emperor by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army, and dignified with all those titles which now followed rather the power than the merit of those who were appointed to govern.

Having continued some months at Alexandria in Egypt, where it is said he cured a blind and a lame man by touching them, he set out for Rome, giving his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem, while he himself went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtues. Nor did he in the least disappoint their expectations, being equally assiduous in rewarding merit and pardoning his adversaries, in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian represents them as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity, while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to fore-

warn their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them; they had the most bitter dissentions among themselves, and were split into two parties, that robbed and destroyed each other with impunity, still pillaging, and at the same time boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of those parties was an incendiary whose name was John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jerusalem, and all the towns around with tumult and pillage. In a short time, a new faction arose, headed by one Simon, who, gathering multitudes of robbers and murderers who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea into his power. Jerusalem at length became the theatre in which these two demagogues began to exercise their mutual animosity; John was possessed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city, both equally enraged against each other, while slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the seat of tumult and confusion.

It was in this miserable situation that Titus began his operations within about six furlongs of the city of Jerusalem, during the feast of the Passover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of the people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great solemnity. The approach of the Romans produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within the city; so that they unanimously resolved to oppose the common enemy first, and then decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season. Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, put the besiegers into great disorder and obliged them to abandon their camp and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city, while Titus in person shewed surprising instances of valour and conduct.

These advantages over the Romans only renewed in the besieged the desire of private revenge. A tumult ensued in the temple, in which several of both parties were slain; and in *this manner* upon every remission from without *the factions of John* and Simon violently raged against

each other within, agreeing only in their resolution to defend the city against the Romans.

The city was strongly fortified by three walls on every side, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus began by battering down the outward wall; which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected, all the time shewing the greatest clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances of pardon. Five days after the commencement of the siege, Titus broke through the second wall; and though driven back by the besieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparation for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first, he sent Josephus, their countryman, into the city to exhort them to yield; who using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was now therefore carried on with greater vigour than before; several batteries, for engines were raised, which were no sooner built than destroyed by the enemy. At length it was resolved in council to surround the whole city with a trench and thus prevent all relief and succours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine, and pestilence its necessary attendants, began to make the most horrid ravages among them, yet this desperate people still resolved to hold out. He now cut down all the woods within a considerable distance of the city, and causing more batteries to be raised, he at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. The Jews, however, continued to deceive themselves with absurd and false expectations, while many false prophets deluded the multitude, declaring they should soon have assistance from God. The seat of the battle was now therefore gathered round the inner wall of the temple while the defendants desperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to save this beautiful structure; but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple; and notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of the temple in ruins effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive that heaven had forsaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adja-

cent mountains. Even those who were almost expiring lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of their temple, which they valued more than life itself. The most resolute, however, still endeavoured to defend the upper and strongest part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, soon made himself entire master of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themselves; the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greatest part of the populace were put to the sword, and the city was, after a six month's siege entirely razed by the plough; so that according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. The numbers who perished in this siege, according to Josephus, amounted to above a million of souls, and the captives to almost a hundred thousand.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, his soldiers would have crowned Titus as a conqueror, but he modestly refused the honour, alledging that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Rome however, all men's mouths were filled with the praises of the conqueror, who had not only shewn himself an excellent general, but a courageous combatant: his return therefore in triumph, which he did with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to express. All things that were esteemed valuable or beautiful among men were brought to adorn this great occasion. Among the rich spoils were exposed vast quantities of gold taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that ever Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occasion, on which were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews, which remains almost entire to this very day. Vespasian likewise built a temple to Peace, wherein were deposited most of the Jewish spoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he shut up the temple of Janus which *had been open about* five or six years.

Few emperors have received a better character from

historians than Vespasian, yet all his numerous acts of generosity and magnificence could not preserve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He descended to some very unusual and dishonourable imposts, even the laying a tax upon urine. When his son Titus remonstrated against the meanness of such a tax, Vespasian, taking a piece of money, demanded if the smell offended him, adding, that this very money was produced by urine.

Notwithstanding, having reigned ten years, loved by his subjects, and deserving their affection, he was surprised with an indisposition at Campania, which from the beginning he declared would be fatal; and perceiving his end approaching, as he was just going to expire, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die standing; wherefore, raising himself upon his feet, he expired in the hands of those that sustained him.

A. D. 79 Titus being joyfully received as emperor, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became a sovereign and a man. During the life of his father there had been many imputations against him, both for cruelty, lust and prodigality; but upon his exaltation to the throne, he seemed entirely to take leave of his former vices, and became an example of the greatest moderation and humanity. His first step towards gaining the affections of his subjects, was his moderating his passions and bridling his strong inclinations. He had long loved Bernice, sister to Agrippa, king of Judea, a woman of the greatest beauty and the most refined allurements. But knowing that the connection with her was entirely disagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and sent her away, notwithstanding their mutual passion, and the many arts she used to induce him to change his resolutions. He next discarded all those who had been the former ministers of his pleasures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looser recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the selection. This moderation, added to his justice and generosity, procured him the love of all good men, and the appellation of the delight of *mankind*, which all his actions seemed calculated to ensure.

Titus took particular care to punish all informers, false witnesses, and promoters of dissention. Those wretches, who had their rise in the licentiousness and impunity of former reigns, were now become so numerous that their crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these therefore he daily made public examples, condemning them to be scourged in the most public streets, next to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves. His courtesy and readiness to do good have been celebrated even by Christian writers, his principal rule being never to send any petitioner dissatisfied away. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind the day preceding, he cried out, among his friends, "I have lost a day!" a sentence too remarkable not to be universally known.

Learning that two noblemen had conspired against him, he readily forgave them; and the next day, placing them next himself in the theatre, he put the swords with which the gladiators fought into their hands, demanding their judgment and approbation whether they were of sufficient length.

In this reign an eruption of mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and throwing its ashes into countries more than an hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; for, being impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames. There happened also about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights successively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thousand men were buried in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages sustained by the public; and, with respect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loss of that upon himself.

These disasters were in some measure counterbalanced by the successes in Britain under Agricola. This excellent general having been sent into that country towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, shewed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the first

that were subdued. He then made a descent upon Mona, or the island of Anglesey, which surrendered at discretion. Having thus rendered himself master of the whole country, he took every method to restore discipline to his own army, and to introduce some share of politeness among those whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts; he had them taught the Latin language, and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. Thus by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manner of their conquerors, and in some time even to outdo them in all the refinements of sensual pleasures. Upon account of these successes in Britain, Titus was saluted emperator the fifteenth time; but he did not long survive this honor, being surprised by a violent fever at a little distance from Rome. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern His death was in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, two months and twenty days.

A. D 81. The beginning of Domitian's reign was universally acceptable to the people, as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice.

But he soon began to shew the natural deformity of his mind Instead of cultivating literature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study, addicting himself wholly to meaner pursuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was so very expert an archer, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a great distance, with his hands spread as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with such exactness as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests to be observed every five years, in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but at the same time he banished all philosophers, and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people with such *various and* expensive shows. During these diversions he *distributed* great rewards sitting as president himself, *adorned with* a purple robe and crown, with the fasces of

Jupiter and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations in solitude was just a contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin; so that one of his servants being asked if the emperor were alone? answered, that he had not so much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola seemed the first symptom of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched some time before into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany, and, without ever seeing the enemy, resolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpose he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and at the head of this military procession, entered the city amidst the apparent acclamations and concealed contempt of all his subjects. The successes therefore of Agricola in Britain affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He subdued the Caledonians, and overcame Galgacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men; and afterwards sending out a fleet to scour the coast, first discovered Great-Britain to be an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys, and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with a seeming pleasure, but, real uneasiness He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and, instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress the merit of his services. He ordered him therefore external marks of approbation, and took care that triumphant ornaments, statues, and other honours should be decreed him; but at the same time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria By these means Agricola surrendered up his province to Salustius Lucullus, but soon found that Syria was

otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and dying some time after in retirement, it was supposed by some that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction. Domitian soon after found the want of so experienced a commander in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that surrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion, at once destroying a whole legion and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in several engagements. *At last* however the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money, which only served to enable them to make future invasions with greater advantage. But in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was resolved not to lose the honours of a triumph. He returned in great splendour to Rome; and not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus for his conquests over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule increased against him his pride seemed every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver; he assumed to himself divine honours, and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance; he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators and others to be put to death upon the most trifling pretences. One Ælius Lama was condemned and executed only for jesting, though there was neither novelty or poignancy in his humour. Cocceanus was murdered only for celebrating the nativity of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer that he should be emperor. Salustius Lucullus his lieutenant in Britain was destroyed only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention. Junius Rusticus died for publishing a book, in which he commended Thrasea and Priscus, two philosophers, who opposed Vespasian's coming to the throne.

Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, known

ing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne, and accordingly assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his success remained a long time doubtful; but a sudden overflowing of the Rhine dividing his army, he was set upon at that juncture by Normandus the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome by supernatural means on the same day that the battle was fought. Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short lived success. In order to discover those who were accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures, sometimes cutting off the hands, at other times thrusting fire into the privities of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During his severities, he aggravated his guilt by hypocrisy, never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household he treated him with the most seeming friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility, the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time he surrounded the senate house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he resolved to amuse himself with their terrors in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps that diffused light only sufficient to shew the horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, with the names of each of the senators written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men, having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and pursued them. After some time, when the guests expected nothing less than the most instant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were set open, and

one of the servants came to inform them that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw. These cruelties were rendered still more odious by his lust and avarice. Frequently after presiding at an execution, he would retire with the lewdest prostitutes, and use the same baths which they did. The last part of the tyrant's reign was more unsupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exercised his cruelties without being a spectator; but a principal part of the Roman miseries, during his reign, was to see and be seen; to behold the stern air and fiery visage of the tyrant, which he had armed against blushing by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciously pleased with adding poignance to every agony.

But a period was soon to be put to this monster's cruelties. Among the number of those whom he at once caressed and suspected was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former husband. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all such as he intended to destroy in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumspection. Domitia fortunately happening to get a sight of them, was struck at finding her own name in the catalogue of those fated to destruction. She shewed the fatal list to Norbanus and Petronius, prefects of the prætorian bands, who found themselves set down; as likewise to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, who came into the conspiracy with alacrity. They fixed upon the eighteenth day of September *for the* completion of their great attempt. Upon preparing to go to the bath on the morning of that day, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him that Stephanus the comptroller of the household desired to speak to him upon an affair of the utmost importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants should retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn thus for some days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conspiracy, and exhibited a paper in which the particulars were specified. While Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curiosity, Stephanus drew the dagger, and struck *him in the* groin. The wound not being mortal, Domi*tian caught hold* of the assassin and threw him upon the

ground, calling out for assistance. But Parthenius with his freed man, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiously upon the emperor, and dispatched him with seven wounds.

It is almost incredible what some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephesus: This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impostor, was just, at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But, stopping short all of a sudden, he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus, strike the tyrant." And then, after a pause, "rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies this "day; this day, do I say! the very moment in which I "kept silence he suffers for his crimes; he dies!"

Many more prodigies were said to have portended his death, but the fate of such a monster seemed to produce more preternatural disturbances, and more predictions than it deserved. The truth seems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies was again become prevalent; the people were again relapsing into pristine barbarity: a country of ignorance is ever the proper soil for an harvest of imposture.

CHAP. XXIII.

The five good Emperors of Rome.

[A. D. 96.]

WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, the senate began to load his memory with every reproach. His statues were commanded to be taken down, and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erased, his name struck out of the registers of Fame, and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched by largesses, sincerely regretted *their benefactor.*

The senate therefore resolved to provide a successor before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves; and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant was slain. He was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was at that time the most remarkable man in Rome, for his virtues, moderation and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameless conduct of his former life.

The people, being long accustomed to tyranny, regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his imbecility (for his humanity was carried too far for justice) the name of benevolence. Upon coming to the throne, he solemnly swore that no senator of Rome should be put to death by his command, during his reign, though they gave ever so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but sending for them, to let them see he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the public theatre: there presenting each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. During his short reign he made several good laws. He particularly prohibited the castration of male children; which had been likewise condemned by his predecessor, but not wholly removed. He put all those slaves to death who had, during the last reign informed against their masters. He permitted no statues to be erected to his honour, and converted such of Domitian's as had been spared by the senate into money. He sold many rich robes, and much of the splendid furniture of the palace, and retrenched several unreasonable expences at court. At the same time he had so little regard for money, that when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor how to dispose of it, he received for answer that he might use it; but the finder still informing the emperor, that it was a fortune too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word that then he might abuse it.

A life of such generosity and mildness was not however

without its enemies. Vigilius Rusus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consulship. Calpurnius Crassus also with some others, formed a conspiracy to destroy him; but he rested satisfied with banishing those who were culpable, though the senate were for inflicting more rigorous punishments. But the most dangerous insurrection against his interests was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Casparius Olianus, insisted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whose memory was still dear to them from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whose kindness to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to stop the progress of this insurrection; he presented himself to the mutinous soldiers, and opening his bosom, desired them to strike there rather than be guilty of so much injustice. The soldiers however paid no regard to his remonstrances, but seizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, slew them in the most ignominious manner. Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their sedition, and to make a speech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So disagreeable a constraint upon the emperor's inclinations was, in the end, attended with the most happy effects, as it caused the adoption of Trajan to succeed him. For, perceiving that, in the present turbulent disposition of the times, he stood in need of an assistant in the empire, setting aside all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpius Trajan, an utter stranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his successor. And in about three months after, having put himself into a violent passion with one Regulus a senator, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after a short reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the first foreign emperor who reigned in Rome, and justly reputed a prince of great generosity and moderation. He is also celebrated for his wisdom, though with less reason, the greatest instance he gave of it during his reign being the choice of his successor.

Trajan's family was originally from Italy, but he himself was born at Seville in Spain. U. C. 851. *Upon being informed* of the death of Nerva, A. D. 98, *he prepared* to return to Rome from Germa-

ny, where he was governor: and one of the first lectures he received upon his arrival was from Plutarch, the philosopher, who had the honour of being his master, and is said to have written him a letter to the following purpose: "Since your merits, and not your importunities, have "advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratu- "late your virtues and my own fortune. If your future "government prove answerable to your former worth I "shall be happy; but if you become worse for power, "your's will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of "your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged "upon his instructor. Seneca is reproached for the enor- "mities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintillian have not "escaped censure for the misconduct of their respective "scholars. But you have it in your power to make me "the most honoured of men, by continuing what you are. "Continue the command of your passions, and make "virtue the scope of all your actions. If you follow these "instructions, then will I glory in my having presumed "to give them; if you neglect what I offer, then will "this letter be my testimony that you have not erred "through the counsel and authority of Plutarch." I have inserted this letter, whether genuine or not, because it seems to me well written, and a striking picture of this great philosopher's manner of addressing that best of princes

This good monarch's application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality in his own expences, have all been the subject of panegyric among his cotemporaries; and they continue to be the admiration of posterity.

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the sword, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this sword, and use it, if I have "merit for me; if otherwise, against me." After which he added, that he who gave laws was the first who was bound to observe them.

The first war he was engaged in after his coming to the throne was with the Dacians, who during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberless ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raised a powerful

army, and, with great expedition marched into those barbarous countries, where he was vigorously opposed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withstood his boldest efforts. At length, however, this monarch being constrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, he was routed with great slaughter, though not without great loss to the conquerors. The Roman soldiers upon this occasion wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes to supply them. This victory compelled the enemy to sue for peace, which they obtained upon very disadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return, after the usual triumphs and rejoicings upon such an occasion were over, he was surprised with an account that the Dacians had renewed hostilities. Decebalus their king was now therefore a second time adjudged an enemy to the Roman state, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before subdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, used every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He also put various stratagems in practice to distress the enemy; and at one time Trajan himself was in danger of being slain or taken. He also took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, prisoner, and threatened to kill him in case Trajan refused granting him terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the safety of one subject only; wherefore Longinus some time after destroyed himself by a voluntary death. The fate of this general seemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order to be better enabled to invade the enemy's territories at pleasure, he undertook a most stupendous work, which was no less than building a bridge across the Danube. This amazing structure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, consisted of more than twenty-two arches, an hundred and fifty feet high, and an hundred and seventy broad: the ruins of this structure, which remain to this day, shew modern *architects* how far they were surpassed by the *ancients, both in the* greatness and the boldness of their

signs. Upon finishing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, sharing with the meanest of his soldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By these means, notwithstanding the country was spacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he subdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia as a province to the Roman empire. Decebalus made some attempts to escape; but being surrounded on every side, he at last slew himself, and his head was sent immediately to Rome to certify his misfortune there. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors were seen to come from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan's success, and bespeak his friendship. At his return to Rome he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted for the space of an hundred and twenty days.

Having given peace and prosperity to the empire, he continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almost adored by his subjects. He adorned the city with public buildings: he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he entertained persons of merit with the utmost familiarity; and so little feared his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any.

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had shewn equal clemency to all his subjects; but about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the Christians with a suspicious eye, and
U. C. 860. great numbers of them were put to death, as
A. D. 107. well by popular tumults as by edicts and judicial proceedings. However, the persecution ceased after some time; for the emperor having advice from Pliny, the proconsul in Bithynia, of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, he suspended their punishments.

During this emperor's reign there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, still infatuated and ever expecting some signal deliverance, took the advantage of Trajan's absence in the east, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Armenians and Parthians, to massacre all

the Greeks and Romans which they got into their power without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; from thence the flames extended to Egypt, and next to the island of Cyprus. These places they in a manner dispeopled with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were such that they ate the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other, and studied new torments by which to destroy them. However, these cruelties were of no long duration; the governors of the respective provinces making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with a retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. As the Jews had practised their cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the east, where he carried the Roman arms farther than they had ever been before; but resolving to return once more to Rome, he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He therefore ordered himself to be carried on shipboard to the city of Saleucia, where he died of the apoplexy, having been attacked by that disorder once before A. D. 117, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

Adrian, who was nephew to Trajan, was adopted to succeed in the empire, and elected by all orders of the state, though absent from Rome, being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the east.

Upon his election, he began to pursue a course quite opposite to that of his predecessor, taking every method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite satisfied with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquest.

Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments; he was highly skilful in all the accomplishments both of body and mind; he composed, with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best

orators of his time: nor were his moral virtues less than his accomplishments. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man One day, meeting a person who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "my good friend," cried he, "you have escaped, "for I am made emperor." He was affable to his friends, and gentle to persons of meaner stations; he relieved their wants, and visited them in sickness; it being his constant maxim, that he was an emperor, not elected for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

These were his virtues, which were contracted by a strange mixture of vices; or, to say the truth, he wanted strength of mind to preserve his general rectitude of character without deviation.

He was scarce settled on the throne when several of the northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, began to make devastations on the empire. These hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by issuing from their forests, and then retiring upon the approach of a superior force opposing them, began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of contracting the limits of the empire, by giving up some of the most remote and least defensible provinces; but in this he was overruled by his friends, who wrongly imagined that an extensive frontier would intimidate an invading enemy. But though he complied with their remonstrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube which his predecessor had built, sensible that the same passage which was open to him was equally convenient to the incursions of his barbarous neighbours.

Having staid a short time at Rome, so as to see that all things were regulated and established for the safety of the public, he prepared to visit, and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffused warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a splendid court, and a considerable force, and entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from thence to Holland, and then passed over into Britain; there reforming many abuses, and reconciling the natives to the

Romans. For the better security of the southern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, extending from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tyne in Northumberland, to prevent the incursions of the Picts and other barbarous nations to the north. From Britain returning through Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, where he was received with great joy, as being a native of that country. There, wintering in the city of Tarragona, he called a meeting of all the deputies from the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. From Spain, returning to Rome, he continued there for some time in order to prepare for his journey into the east, which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels, without molestation. Arriving in Asia Minor, he turned out of his way to visit the famous city of Athens. There, making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Elusinian mysteries, which were accounted most sacred in the Pagan mythology, and took upon him the office of archon or chief magistrate of the place. In this place also he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution at the representation of Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, who represented the people of that persuasion as no way culpable. He was even so far reconciled to them as to think of receiving Christ among the number of the gods. After a winter's continuance at Athens he went over into Sicily, and visited Ætna, and the other curiosities of the place. Returning from thence once more to Rome, after a short stay he prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. There he spent much time in regulating abuses, and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt, calling it after his own name, Adrianople Again returning to Rome, where he stayed but a very little time, he travelled a second time into Greece, passed over into Asia Minor; from thence went into Syria, gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings, whom he invited to come and consult with him; he then entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He also gave orders

for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which was performed with great expedition by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long lost kingdom. But these expectations only served to aggravate their calamities; for being incensed at the privileges which were granted the Pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Christians that were dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. Adrian was at Athens when this dangerous insurrection began; wherefore, sending a powerful body of men under the command of Julius Severus against them, this general obtained many signal though bloody victories over the insurgents. The war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of near six hundred thousand men in battle.

He then banished all those who remained out of Judea; and by a public decree forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire, who, entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian preferring peace upon any terms to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds to enjoy their plunder, and meditate fresh invasions.

Having spent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuses of the empire, he at last resolved to return and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his resolution of coming to reside for the rest of his days among them; they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the least of his former assiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with the most celebrated men in every art and science, frequently boasting that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable, or to be neglected either in his private or public capacity. Adrian was so fond of literary fame, that, we are told, he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his servants

to publish under their names But whatever might have been his weakness in aiming at universal reputation, he was in no part of his reign remiss in attending the duties of his exalted station. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had been before allowed, but ordained that they should be tried by the laws enacted against capital offences. A law so just, had he done nothing more, deserved to have ensured his reputation with posterity, and to have made him dear to mankind. He still further extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men who had been long thought too mean for justice. If a master was found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture as formerly, but only such as might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In such employments he consumed the greatest part of his time; but at last, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally upon the decline, he resolved upon adopting a successor. Marcus Antonius afterwards surnamed the Pious, was the person he pitched upon; but previously obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards succeeded in the empire.

While he was thus careful in appointing a successor his bodily infirmities became so insupportable that he vehemently desired some of his attendants would dispatch him. Antonius, however, would by no means permit any of his domestics to be guilty of so great an impiety, but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. His pains increasing every day, he was frequently heard to cry out "How miserable a thing it is to "seek death and not to find it!" In this deplorable exigence he resolved on going to Baiæ, where the tortures of his disease increasing, they affected his understanding. Continuing for some time in these excruciating circumstances, he was at last resolved to observe no regimen, often saying that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death he seemed so ardently to desire; and it was probably joy upon its approach which dictated the celebrated stanzas which *are so well known*, and in repeating which he expired,

in the sixty-second year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years and eleven months.

U. C 891. A. D. 138. Titus Antonius, his successor, was born in the city of Nismes in Gaul His father was a nobleman of an ancient family that had enjoyed the highest honours of the state. At the time of his succeeding to the throne he was about fifty years old, and had passed through many of the most important offices of the state with great integrity and application His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation, as he shewed himself one of the most excellent princes for justice, clemency and moderation. His morals were so pure that he was usually compared to Numa, and was surnamed the Pious, both for his tenderness to his predecessor Adrian when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large pensions and great honors, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the rest, he sent for Appollonius. the famous stoic philosopher, to instruct his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previously married to his daughter. Appolonius being arrived at Rome, the emperor desired his attendance, but the other arrogantly answered, "That it was the scholar's duty to wait upon the master, and not the master's upon the scholar." To this reply Antonius only returned with a smile, "That it was surprising how Appollonius, who made no difficulty of coming from Greece to Rome, should think it so hard to walk from one part of Rome to another," and immediately sent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the good emperor was thus employed in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies with the keenness of rebuke, he was seized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleasure house at some distance from Rome; where finding himself sensibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their presence he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the succession; then commanding *the golden* statue of Fortune, which was always in the *chambers of* the emperors, to be removed to that of his *successor,* he expired in the seventy-fifth year of his age,

after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years, and almost eight months.

Marcus Aurelius, though left sole successor to the throne, took Lucius Verus as his associate and equal in governing the state. Aurelius was the son of Amius Verus, of an ancient and illustrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the son of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he succeeded to the throne. Aurelius was remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire was for his ungovernable passions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom, the other of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance. U. C. 914. A. D. 161.

The two emperors had been scarce settled on the throne when the empire seemed attacked on every side from the barbarous nations by which it was surrounded. The Cati invaded Germany and Rhætia, ravaging all with fire and sword; but were after some time repelled by Victorinus. The Britains likewise revolted, but were repressed by Califurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologesus, made an irruption still more dreadful than either of the former, destroying the Roman legions in Armenia, then entering Syria and driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confusion. In order to stop the progress of this barbarous irruption, Verus himself went in person, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the way.

Verus, upon entering Antioch, gave an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war, rioting in excesses, unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks, leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants who were sent to repress the enemy. These, however, fought with great success; Statius Priscus took Artaxata; Martius put Vologesus to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burnt Babylon and Ctesiphon, and demolished the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In a course of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely subdued it; but upon their return, their army was wasted to less than half its former number by pestilence and famine.

However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who resolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph so hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely subdued, he assumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus, and then returned to Rome to partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was accordingly solemnized with great pomp and splendour.

During the course of this expedition, which continued for some years, Aurelius was sedulously intent upon distributing justice and happiness to his subjects at home. He first applied himself to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting such faults as he found in the laws and policy of the state. In this endeavour he shewed a singular respect for the senate, often permitting them to determine without appeal; so that the commonwealth seemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable administration. Besides, such was his application to business, that he often employed ten days together upon the same subject, maturely considering it on all sides, and seldom departing from the senate house till night coming on the assembly was dismissed by the consul. But while thus gloriously occupied, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague, being repeatedly assured of his vanity, lewdness, and extravagance. However, feigning himself ignorant of these excesses, he judged marriage to be the best method of reclaiming him, and therefore sent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a disposition very unlike her father, and instead of correcting her husband's extravagancies, only contributed to enflame them Yet Aurelius still hoped that upon the return of Verus to Rome his presence would keep him in awe, and that happiness would at length be restored to the state But in this also he was disappointed. His return only seemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and disseminated the infection into all the provinces through which it passed.

Nothing could exceed the miserable state of the empire shortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture was represented an emperor, unawed by example, or the

calamities surrounding him, giving way to unheard of debaucheries A raging pestilence spreading terror and desolation through all parts of the western world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before happened, the products of the earth throughout all Italy devoured by locusts; all the barbarous nations surrounding the empire, the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, and the Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself. The priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods; vowing and offering numberless sacrifices: celebrating all the sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome; and exhibiting the solemnity called Lectisternia, seven days together To crown the whole, these enthusiasts, not satisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by ascribing the distresses of the state to the impieties of the christians alone: so that a violent persecution was seen reigning in all parts of the empire, in which Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wisdom of one man alone to restore to tranquillity and bring back happiness to the empire Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and after a furious engagement routed their whole army: then pursuing them across the Alps, overcame them in several contests, and at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any considerable loss. U. C. 922. A D. 169.
As the winter was far advanced, Verus was determined upon going from Aquileia to Rome, in which journey he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life, being thirty nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius, who had hitherto sustained the fatigues of governing not only an empire, but his colleague, being left to himself, began to act with greater diligence, and more vigour than ever.

After having subdued the Marcomanni, a barbarous

people that had made inroads upon the empire, he returned to Rome, where he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation of the internal policy of the state.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a renewal of the former wars, in one of the engagements of which he is said to have been miraculously relieved, when his army was perishing with thirst, by the prayers of a christian legion which had been levied in his service. For, at that dreadful juncture, and just as the barbarians were ready to fall upon them, we are assured, *there fell* such a shower of rain as instantly refreshed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding their mouths and their helmets up to heaven, and receiving the water which came so wonderfully to their relief. The same clouds also which served for their rescue, at the same time discharged such a terrible storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as astonished and confounded them. By this unlooked for aid, the Romans recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by Pagan as well as Christian writers, only with this difference, that the latter ascribed the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous assistance, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and wrote to the senate in favour of their religion.

This good emperor having at a time detected one Avidius in a conspiracy against him, and generously granting him his pardon, some who were near his person took the liberty to blame his conduct, telling him that Avidius would not have been so generous had he had been conqueror. To this the emperor replied in this sublime manner, "I never served the gods so ill, or reigned so irregularly, as to fear Avidius could ever be conqueror."

He usually called philosophy his mother, in opposition to the court, which he considered as his stepmother. He also was frequently heard to say, "that the people "were happy whose philosophers were kings, or whose "kings were philosophers." He in fact was one of the

most considerable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meanest station, his merits as a writer, as his works remain to this day, would have insured immortality.

Having thus restored prosperity to his subjects, and peace to mankind, news was brought him that the Scythians and barbarous nations of the north were up in arms and invading the empire. He once more, therefore resolved to expose his aged person in the defence of his country, and made speedy preparations to oppose them. He went to the senate, for the first time, and desired to have money out of the public treasury. He then spent three whole days in giving the people lectures, by which they might regulate their lives; and, having finished his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of all his subjects. It was upon going to open his third campaign that he was seized with the plague at Vienna, which stopped the progress of his success. Nothing, however, could abate his desire of being beneficial to mankind; his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus his son and successor seemed to give him great uneasiness; wherefore he addressed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed, telling them that as his son was now going to lose a father, he hoped he should find many fathers in them. As he was thus speaking, he was seized with a weakness which stopped his utterance, and which brought him to his end the day following. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years and some days; and it seemed as if the whole glory and prosperity of the Roman empire died with this greatest of the Roman emperors.

CHAP. XXIV.

From Commodus to the transferring the seat of the empire under Constantine from Rome to Byzantium.

[U. C. 939. A. D. 180.]

THE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an easy accession to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor first by the army, then by the senate and people, and shortly after by all the provinces.

His whole reign is but a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. There is so strong a similitude between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might be apt to imagine he was going over the same reign.

He went with his associates to taverns and brothels; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries, having no less than three hundred females, and as many males, for detestable purposes. He committed incest, as Caligula did, with all his sisters. He sometimes went about the markets in a frolic with small wares as a petty chapman; sometimes he imitated a horse courser, and at other times drove his own chariot in a slave's habit, while those he chiefly promoted resembled himself, being the companions of his plesures or the ministers of his cruelty.

If any person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money he was permitted to destroy him in such a manner as he thought proper. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius. He ordered another to be thrown in a burning furnace for accidentally overheating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noses under a pretence of shaving their beards; and yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind that he was obliged to be his own barber.

At length, upon the feast of Janus, resolving to lenge

naked before the people as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated to him upon the indecency of such a behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared excessively fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect than that of incensing him against them, and inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all such as he intended to put to death, in a roll which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy whom he passionately loved. The child, after playing with it for some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætus and Electus, who perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly resolved the tyrant's death. After some deliberation it was agreed upon to dispatch him by poison; but this not succeeding, Marcia hastily introduced a young man called Narcissus, and prevailed upon him to assist in strangling the tyrant. Commodus died in the thirty-first year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months.

The secrecy and expedition with which Commodus was assassinated were such that few U. C. 945. were at that time acquainted with the real cir- A. D. 192. cumstances of his death. His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furniture, and carried through the guards, most of whom were either drunk or asleep.

Previous to the assassination, the conspirators had fixed upon a successor. Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune, was fixed upon to succeed him; when, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house to salute him emperor, he considered their arrival as a command from the emperor Commodus for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any shew of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it so long. However, he was not a little surprised when he

formed of the real cause of their visit; and being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he at last complied with their offer

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon after the citizens and senate consented; the joy at the election of their new sovereign being scarce equal to that for the death of their tyrant. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide, an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind, and commanded that his corpse should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they saluted Pertinax, as emperor and Cæsar, with numerous acclamations, and cheerfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome; so that he began his reign with universal satisfaction to the whole empire in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the justice and wisdom of this monarch's reign the short time it continued. But the prætorian soldiers, whose manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profusion of their former monarch, began to hate him for the parsimony and discipline he had introduced among them. They therefore resolved to dethrone him; and accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the streets of Rome, entered his palace without opposition, where a Tungrian soldier struck him dead with a blow of his lance. From the number of his adventures, he was called the Tennis ball of Fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations with so blameless a character. He reigned but three months.

U. C. 945. A. D. 192

The soldiers, having committed this outrage, made proclamation that they would sell the empire to whoever would purchase it at the highest price. In consequence of this proclamation, two bidders were found, namely, Sulpician and Didius. The former, a consular person, prætect of the city, and son in law to the late emperor Pertinax. The latter, a consular person likewise, a great lawyer, and the wealthiest man in the city Sulpician had rather promises than treasures to bestow. The offers of Didius, who produced immense sums of ready money prevailed. He was re-

ceived into the camp, and the soldiers instantly swore to obey him as emperor.

Upon being conducted to the senate house, he addressed the few senators that were present in a very laconic speech. "Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can chuse." The choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

It should seem by this weak monarch's conduct when seated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleasure than a toil. Instead of attempting to gain the hearts of his subjects, he gave himself up to ease and inactivity, utterly regardless of the duties of his station. He was mild and gentle indeed, neither injuring any nor expecting to be injured. But that avarice, by which he became opulent, still followed him in his exaltation; so that the very soldiers who elected him soon began to detest him for those qualities so very opposite to a military character. The people also against whose consent he was chosen, were not less his enemies. Whenever he issued from his palace they openly poured forth their imprecations against him, crying out that he was a thief, and had stolen the empire. Didius, however, in the true spirit of a trader, patiently bore all their reproach, sometimes beckoning to them with smiles to approach him, and testifying his regard by every kind of submission.

Soon after, Severus, an African by birth, being proclaimed by his army, began by promising to revenge the death of Pertinax.

Didius, upon being informed of his approach towards Rome, obtained the consent of the senate to send him ambassadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer, conscious of his own strength, and of the weakness of the proposer. The senate soon appeared of the same sentiments; and perceiving the timidity and weakness of their present master, abandoned him. Being called together, as was formerly practised in the times of the commonwealth, by the consuls, they unanimously decreed that Didius should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed in his stead. They commanded Didius to be slain, and sent messengers for this purpose to the palace, where

they found him disarmed, and dispatched him among a few friends that still adhered to his interest.

Severus having overcome Niger and Albinus, who were his competitors for the empire, undertook next the reins of government, uniting great vigour with the most refined policy; yet his African cunning, for he was a native of Africa, was considered as a particular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In short he seemed equally capable of the greatest acts of virtue and the most bloody severities.

Upon his return to Rome he loaded his soldiers with rewards and honours, giving them such privileges as strengthened his own power, while they destroyed that of the state. For the soldiers, who had hitherto shewed the strongest inclinations to an abuse of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of Emperors.

Being thus secure of his army, he resolved to give way to his natural turn for conquest, and to oppose his arms against the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having therefore previously given the government of domestic policy to one Plautian, a particular favourite, to whose daughter he married his son Caracalla, he set out for the east, and prosecuted the war with his usual expedition and success. He forced submission from the king of Armenia, destroyed several cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coasts, took and plundered the famous city of Ctesiphon, marched back through Palestine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aspiring to the empire himself. Upon the emperor's return he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was the commander, to assassinate him, as likewise his son Caracalla. The tribune informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at first received it as an improbable story, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However he was at last persuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a testimony against himself With this intent the tribune went and amused him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his son; desiring him, if he

thought fit to see him dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently desired their deaths he readily gave credit to his relation; and following the tribune, was conducted at midnight into the innermost recesses. But what have been his disappointment, when, instead of finding the emperor lying dead as he expected, he beheld the room lighted up with torches, and Severus, surrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him. Being asked by the emperor, with a stern countenance, what had brought him there at that unseasonable time: he was at first utterly confounded, and not knowing what excuse to make, he ingenuously confessed the whole, intreating forgiveness for what he had intended. The emperor seemed inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his son, who, from the earliest age, shewed a disposition to cruelty, with his sword ran him through the body.

After this he spent a considerable time in visiting some cities in Italy, permitting none of his officers to sell places of trust or dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He then undertook an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to fly the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him he landed in Britain, to the great terror of such as had drawn down his resentment. Upon his progress into the country he left his son Geta in the southern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched with his son Caracalla against the Caledonians. In this expedition his army suffered prodigious hardships in pursuing the enemy; they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost fifty thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However he supported all these inconveniencies with unrelenting bravery, and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace; which they obtained not without the surrender of a considerable part of their country. It was there, that for its better security, he built that famous wall, which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Firth on the west to the German ocean on the east. He did not long survive his successes here, but died at York in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after an active though cruel reign of about eighteen years.

U. C. 954. A. D. 211. Caracalla and Geta, his sons, being acknowledged as emperors by the army, began to shew a mutual hatred to each other even before their arrival at Rome. But this opposition was of no long continuance; for Caracalla being resolved to govern alone, furiously entered Geta's apartment, and, followed by ruffians, slew him in his mother's arms.

Being thus emperor, he went on to mark his course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero, fell short of this monster's barbarities. His tyrannies at length excited the resentment of Macrinus, the commander of the forces in Mesopotamia, who employed one Martial, a man of great strength and a centurion of the guards to dispatch him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day, near a little city called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately upon a natural occasion, with only one page to hold his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired; wherefore, running to him hastily as if he had been called, he stabbed the emperor in the back, so that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, he then unconcernedly returned to his troop; but retiring by insensible degrees, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. But his companions soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was every day declining; the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests all opposite to each other.

U. C. 970. A. D. 217. The soldiers, without an emperor, after a suspense of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all possible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate confirmed their choice shortly after, and likewise that of his son Diadumenus, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of the empire. He was of obscure parentage, some say by birth a Moor; who by the mere rotation of office, being made first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now by treason and accident called to fill the throne.

He was opposed by the intrigues of Mosa and her grandson, Heliogabalus; and being conquered by some seditious legions of his own army, he fled to Chalcedon, where those who were sent in pursuit overtook and put him to death, together with his son Diadumenus, after a short reign of one year and two months.

The senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit to the appointment of the army, as usual, Heliogabalus ascended the throne at the age of fourteen. His short life is but a tissue of effeminacy, lust and extravagance. He married in the small space of four years, six wives, and divorced them all. He was so fond of the sex that he carried his mother with him to the senate house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president. They met several times: all their debates turning upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies he added great cruelty and boundless prodigality; so that he was heard to say that such dishes as were cheaply obtained were scarce worth eating. It is even said he strove to foretel what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men sacrificed, and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy to be slain for that horrid purpose. U. C. 971. A. D. 218.

However, his soldiers mutinying, as was now usual with them; they followed him to his palace, pursuing him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a privy. Having dragged him from thence through the streets with most bitter invectives, and having dispatched him, they attempted once more to squeeze his pampered body into a privy; but not easily effecting this, they threw it into the Tyber with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find or give it burial. This was the ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years.

To him succeeded Alexander, his cousin german; who, without opposition, being declared emperor, the senate with their usual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him; but U. C. 975. A. D. 222.

he modestly declined them all. To the most rigid justice he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous. His accomplishments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was equally skilful in painting and sculpture; and in poetry few of his time could equal him. In short, such were his talents, and such the solidity of his judgment, that though but sixteen years of age he was considered as a wise old man.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper Germans, and other northern nations began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into the most extreme consternation. The emperor ever ready to expose his person for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in person to stem the torrent, which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own soldiers. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days.

U. C. 988. A. D. 235. The tumults occasioned by the death of Alexander being appeased, Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. This extraordinary man, whose character deserves particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage, being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. In the beginning he followed his father's humble profession, and only exercised his personal courage against the robbers who infested that part of the country in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, and enlisted in the Roman army, where he soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no less than eight feet and an half high; he had a body and strength corresponding to his size, being not less remarkable for the magnitude than the symmetry of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb ring; and his strength was so great that he was *able to draw* a carriage which two oxen could not move. *He could* strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist,

and break its thigh bone with a kick. His diet was as extraordinary as the rest of his endowments: he generally ate forty pounds weight of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame so athletic, he was possessed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing nor regarding any man. The first time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth day of his son Geta. He overcame sixteen in running, one after the other; he then kept up with the emperor on horseback; and, having fatigued him in the course, he was opposed to seven of the most active soldiers, and overcame them with the greatest ease. From that time he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guard, and by the usual gradation of preferment came to be chief commander, equally remarkable for his simplicity, discipline, and virtue; and, upon coming to the empire, he was found to be one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that ever disgraced power; and fearful of nothing himself, he seemed to sport with the terrors of all mankind.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a spirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, wasted all their country with fire and sword for four hundred miles together, and set a resolution of subduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In these expeditions, in order to attach the soldiers more firmly to him, he increased their pay; and in every duty of the camp he himself took as much pains as the meanest centinel in his army, shewing incredible courage and assiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hottest, Maximin was always seen fighting there in person, and destroying all before him: for, being bred a barbarian, he considered it as his duty to combat as a common soldier while he commanded as a general.

In the mean time, his cruelties had so alienated the minds of his subjects that several conspiracies were secretly aimed against him. None of them, however, succeeded, till at last his own soldiers, being long harassed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolt on every side, resolved *to terminate* their calamities by the tyrant's *death. His* great strength, and his being always armed,

were at first the principal motives to deter any from assassinating him; but at length, having made his guards accomplices in their design, they set upon him while he slept at noon in his tent, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any opposition. Thus died this most remarkable man, after an usurpation of about three years, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His assiduity when in humble station, and his cruelty when in power, serve very well to evince, that there are some men whose virtues were fitted for obscurity, as there are others who only shew themselves great when placed in an exalted station.

U. C. 991. A. D. 238. The tyrant being dead and his body thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus continued for some time emperors without opposition.

But differing among themselves, the prætorian soldiers, who were the enemies of both, set upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amused with seeing the Capitoline games, and dragging them from the palace towards the camp, slew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the streets as a dreadful instance of their sedition.

U. C. 991. A. D. 238. In the midst of this sedition, as the mutineers were proceeding along, they by accident met Gordian, the grandson of him who was slain in Africa, whom they declared emperor on the spot. This prince was but sixteen years old when he began his reign; but his virtues seemed to compensate for his want of experience. His principal aims were to unite the opposing members of the government, and to reconcile the soldiers and citizens to each other.

The army, however, began as usual to murmur, and their complaints were artfully fomented by Philip, an Arabian, who was prætorian præfect. Things thus proceeding from bad to worse, Philip was at first made equal in the command of the empire; shortly after, he was invested with the sole power; and at length, finding himself capable of perpetrating his long meditated cruelty, Gordian was, by his order, slain in the twenty-second year of his age, after a successful reign of near six years.

U. C. 996. A. D. 243. Philip, having thus murdered his benefactor, was so fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. Upon his exaltation, he associated his son, a boy of

six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. However, the army revolting in favour of Decius his general, and setting violently upon him, one of the centinels, at a blow, cut off his head, or rather cleaved it asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years, Decius being universally declared as his successor.

The activity and wisdom of Decius seemed in some measure to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire. The senate seemed to think so highly of his merits that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he seemed in every instance to consult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of people. U. C. 1001. A. D. 248.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfal of the state: the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of remedy. He was killed in an ambuscade of the enemy in the fifteenth year of his age, after a short reign of two years and six months.

Gallus, who had betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat; he was 45 years old when he began to reign, and was descended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of the state, agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. U. C. 1004. A. D. 251.

He was regardless of every national calamity, and lost to debauch and sensuality. The Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state. These calamities were succeeded by a pestilence from Heaven that seemed to have in general spread over every part of the earth, and which continued raging for several years in an unheard of manner; and all these by a civil war which followed shortly after between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus hearing this soon roused from *the intoxication of pleasure*, and prepared to oppose his

dangerous rival, he with his son, were slain by Æmilianus in a battle fought in Mesia. His death was merited, and his vices were such as to deserve the detestation of posterity. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire suffered inexpressible calamities.

U. C. 1006. A. D. 253. The senate refused to acknowledge the claims of Æmilianus; and an army that was stationed near the Alps chose Valerian, their own commander, to succeed to the throne, who set about reforming the state with a spirit that seemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almost impracticable. The Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and, coming into Mesopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties which were practised upon this unhappy monarch thus fallen in to the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a foot-stool for mounting his horse; he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, "that an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced was the "best statue that could be erected in honour of his victo-"ry." This horrid life of insult and sufferance continued for seven years, and was at length terminated by the cruel Persian's commanding his prisoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards causing him to be flayed alive.

U. C. 1012. A. D. 259. Valerian being taken prisoner, as hath been just mentioned, Galienus his son promising to revenge the insult, was chosen emperor, being then about forty-one years old. However, he soon discovered that he sought rather the splendours than the toils of empire; for after having overthrown Ingenus, a commander in Pannonia, who had assumed the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest, and gave himself up to ease and luxury.

It was at this time that no less than thirty pretenders were seen contending with each other for the dominion of the state, and adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes of this devoted empire. These are generally known in history by the name of the Thirty tyrants.

In this general calamity, Galienus, though at first *seemingly* insensible, was at length obliged, for his own

private security, to take the field, and led an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty usurping tyrants. It was there he was slain by his own soldiers; Martian, one of his generals, having conspired against him.

Flavius Claudius being nominated to succeed, he was joyfully accepted by all orders of the state, and his title confirmed by the senate and the people. U. C. 1021. A. D. 268. We are not sufficiently assured of this emperor's lineage and country. Some affirm that he was born in Dalmatia, and descended from an ancient family there; others assert that he was a Trojan, and others still that he was son to the emperor Gordian. But whatever might have been his descent, his merits were by no means doubtful. He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the most excellent services against the Goths who had long continued to make their irruptions into the empire; but on his march against that barbarous people, as he approached near the city Sirmium, in Pannonia, he was seized with a pestilential fever, of which he died in a few days, to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire.

Upon the death of Claudius, Aurelian was universally acknowledged by all the states of the empire, and assumed the command with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for some time before. U. C. 1023. A. D 270. This active monarch was born of mean and obscure parentage, in Dacia, and was about fifty five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had spent the early part of his life in the army, and had risen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unshaken courage, and amazing strength; he in one single engagement killed forty of the enemy with his own hand, and above nine hundred at several different times. In short, his valour and expedition were such that he was compared to Julius Cæsar, and in fact only wanted mildness and clemency to be every way his equal.

Among the number of those who were compelled to submit to his power, we may reckon the famous Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. He subdued her country, destroyed her city and took her prisoner. Longinus, the celebrated critic, who was secretary to the queen, was by Aurelian's order, put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his

triumph, and afterwards allotted such lands, and such an income, as served to maintain her in almost her former splendour.

His severities at last were the cause of his destruction. Mnesteus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him for some fault which he had committed, formed a conspiracy against him; and as the emperor passed with a small guard from Uraclea in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him at once, and slew him with very small resistance. He was slain in the sixtieth, or as some say, the sixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of almost five years.

U. C. 1028. A. D. 275. After some time, the senate made choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him, being at that time seventy-five years old.

A reign begun with much moderation and justice, only wanted continuance to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about six months he died of a fever in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire

During this short period, the senate seemed to have a large share of authority; and the historians of the times are one and all liberal of their praises to such emperors as were thus willing to divide their power.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was forty-four years old when he ascended the throne; was born of noble parentage at Sirmium in Pannonia, and bred up a soldier from his youth. He began early to distinguish himself for his discipline and valour, being frequently the first man that, in besieging towns, scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp He was equally remarkable for single combats, and saving the lives of many eminent citizens: nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced only new calamities to the empire, and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation: perhaps at this time no abilities, except those of Probus, were capable of opposing such united invasions.

However, in the end, his own mutinous soldiers, taking *their opportunity* as he was marching into Greece, set

upon and slew him, after he had reigned six years and four months with general approbation.

Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him; and he, to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage. Carus was shortly after his exaltation struck dead by lightning in his tent, with many others that were round him. U. C. 1035. A. D. 282.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Asper, his father in law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He therefore hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. The offensiveness, however, of his smell at length discovered the treachery, and excited an universal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midst of this tumult, Dioclesian, one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and with his own hand slew Asper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a propheey, which had said that Dioclesian should be emperor after he had slain a Boar.

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother.

Dioclesian was a person of mean birth, being supposed to be, according to some, the son of a scrivener; and of a slave, according to others. He received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born, being forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit, having passed through all the gradations of office with sagacity, courage, and success. U. C. 1037. A. D. 284.

In his time, the northern hive, as it was called, poured down their swarms of barbarians upon the Roman empire. Ever at war with the Romans, they issued, when the armies that were to repress their invasions were

led away; and, upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold barren, and inaccessible retreats, which only themselves could endure. In this manner the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, came down in incredible numbers, while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. After gaining many victories over these, and in the midst of his triumphs, Dioclesian and Maximian, his partner in the empire, surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retiring into private stations. In this contented manner Dioclesian lived some time, and at last died either by poison or madness; but this is uncertain. His reign, which continued twenty years was active and useful; and his authority, which was tinctured with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

U. C. 1057 A. D. 304 Upon the resignation of the two emperors, the two Cæsars, whom they had before chosen, were universally acknowledged as their successors, namely, Constantius Chlorus, who was so called from the paleness of his complexion, being virtuous, valiant, and merciful; and Galerius, who was brave, but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was such a disparity in their tempers, they readily agreed upon coming into full power to divide the empire, Constantius being appointed to govern the western parts.

Constantius died in Britain, appointing Constantine his son as his successor. Galerius was seized with a very extraordinary disorder in his privates, which baffled all the skill of his physicians, and carried him off, after he had languished in torments for near the space of a year.

U. C. 1064. A. D. 311 Constantine, afterwards surnamed the Great had some competitors at first for the throne. Among the rest was Maxentius, who was at that time in possession of Rome, and a stedfast assertor of Paganism. It was in Constantine's march against that usurper that we are assured he was converted to Christianity by a very extraordinary appearance. One evening, as we are told, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was taken up with various considerations upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition: sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without divine assistance, he employed his medi-

tations upon the opinions that were chiefly agitated among mankind, and sent up ejaculations to Heaven to inspire him with wisdom to chuse the path to pursue. It was then, as the the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription, *In this overcome.* So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment both in the emperor and his whole army, who considered it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those who were attached to Paganism, prompted by their auspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events; but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind, who as the account goes, was farther encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore the day following caused a royal standard to be made, like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion.

Constantine having thus attached his soldiers to his interest, who were most of the christian persuasion, lost no time in entering Italy with ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse, and soon advanced almost to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius advanced from the city with an army of an hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. The engagement was for some time fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared upon the side of his opponent: and he himself, was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the Tyber.

Constantine, in consequence of this victory, entering the city, disclaimed all praises which the senate and people were ready to offer, ascribing his success to a superior power. He even caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues, with this inscription, "That under the influence of that victorious cross, Constantine had delivered the city from the yoke of tyrannical power; and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient authority." *He afterwards ordained,* that no criminal should for the *future suffer death* by the cross, which had formerly been

the most usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were soon after issued, declaring, that the christians should be eased of all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority.

Things continued in this state for some time, Constantine contributing what was in his power to the interest of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost wholly extinct in the empire But in the midst of these assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed by the preparations of Maximin who governed in the east, and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius with a very numerous army. In consequence of *this step*, after many conflicts, a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat; many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those that survived submitted to the conqueror. Having, however, escaped the general carnage, he once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the fortune of the *field*; but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from heaven; but this was the age in which false judgments and false miracles made up the bulk of uninstructive history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining indisputed possessors and partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance, of friendship and power. However, it was soon found that the same ambition that aimed after a part would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribed the rupture between these two potentates to Constantine; while the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both sides exerted all their power to make opposition, and, at the head of very formidable armies came to an engagement near Cybalis in Pannonia. Constantine, previous to the battle, in the midst of his Christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the Pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth. Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious, *took the enemy's camp*, and after some time compelled *Licinius* to sue for a truce, which was agreed upon. But

this was of no long continuance; for soon after, the war breaking out afresh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive Licinius was entirely defeated and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor, having first obtained an oath that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for, either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian his general, who some time before had been created Cæsar.

Constantine, being thus sole monarch of the empire, resolved to establish christianity on so sure a basis that no new revolutions should shake it. He commanded that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed. He called also a general council of these in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself, who, all except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Having thus restored universal tranquillity to the empire, he was not able to ward off the calamities of a more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this: Fausta the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion; and, finding her most distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires. This produced an explanation which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation, and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die without an hearing: nor did he

innocence appear till it was too late for redress. The only reparation, therefore, that remained was putting Fausta, the wicked instrument of his former cruelty, to death; which was accordingly executed upon her, together with some others who had been accomplices in her falsehood and treachery.

But it is supposed that all the good he did was not equal to recompence the evil the empire sustained by his transferring the seat of it from Rome to Byzantium, or Constantinople as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking, whether it was because he was offended at *some* affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople more in the centre of the empire, or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence, experience has shewn that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state; but this in great measure gave precipitation to its downfal. After this it never resumed its former splendour, but, like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

His first design was to build a city which he might make the capital of the world; and for this purpose he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon in Asia Minor; but we are told, that, in laying out the ground plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire; and indeed nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniencies and all the beauties which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain that rose gently from the water: it commanded that streight which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. This city therefore, he beautified with the most magnificent edifices; he divided it into fourteen regions; built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and other public works; and having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very solemn manner to the God of martyrs; and in about two years after repaired thither with his whole court.

U. C. 1081.
A. D. 330.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change; nor was there for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until at length the Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard of cruelty. Constantine, however, soon represt their incursions, and so straitened them, that near an hundred thousand of their number perished by cold and hunger.

Another great error ascribed to him is the dividing the empire among his sons. Constantine, the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces; Constantius, his second, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy. This division of the empire still farther contributed to its downfal; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasion, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though often defeated. Constantine was about sixty years old, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. His disorder, which was an ague, increasing, he went to Nicomedia, where, finding himself without hopes of a recovery, he caused himself to be baptized; and having soon after received the sacrament, he expired, after a memorable and active reign of almost thirty-two years.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the destruction of the Roman Empire after the death of Constantine, and the events which hastened its catastrophe.

FROM this dreary period the recovery of the empire was become desperate; no wisdom could obviate its decadence, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Were we to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be rather of the conquerors not the conquered: of those Gothic chiefs who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquest of nations corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were at first unknown to the Romans, *and for some time after had been only incommodious*

them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amidst regions frightful with eternal snows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory only cut off numbers without an habitation and a name, soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors who had to contend with this people were most of them furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the east. Sunk in softness, they shewed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers; they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian, his successor surnamed the apostate upon account of his relapsing into Paganism, was notwithstanding a very good and a very valiant prince. He, by his wisdom, conduct, and œconomy, chased the barbarians, that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine out of their new settlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted but two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garrisons merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support; but an event that no human prudence could foresee, brought up a new enemy to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucasus and the Caspian sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people that went by the name of the Huns and Allanes. Their soil was fertile, and the

inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to cross the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, so that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had assigned them, while other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais had by degrees formed a kind of incrustation on the surface of the Cimmærian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate, that two young Scythians being in full pursuit of an heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea, and the youths immediately following her, found themselves in a new world upon the opposite shore. Upon their return they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands and countries which they had discovered. Upon their information an innumerable body of Huns passed those streights; and meeting first with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube; and, with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned them several portions of land in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated therefore by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors; and in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greatest part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult at last to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger; but when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the weight of several attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers proceeded on to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia, but when these countries were ruined they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; and from thence they extended

Norcium The empire was in this manner continually shrinking, and Italy at last became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius in some measure retarded the destruction that had begun in the time of Valens; but, upon his death, the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to stop the universal decline proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it; being instigated also still further by the artifices of one Rusinus, who had designs upon the throne himself: this warlike prince, I say, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests; and at length putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down like a torrent among the fruitful vallies of Italy. This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure that only served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength that furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants therefore beheld with terror a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country, while their wretched emperor Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still only seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long sat as mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation In this extremity the senate dispatched their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him *either to grant* them peace upon reasonable terms, or to *give them leave* to fight it with him in the open field. To *this message*, however, the Gothic monarch only replied,

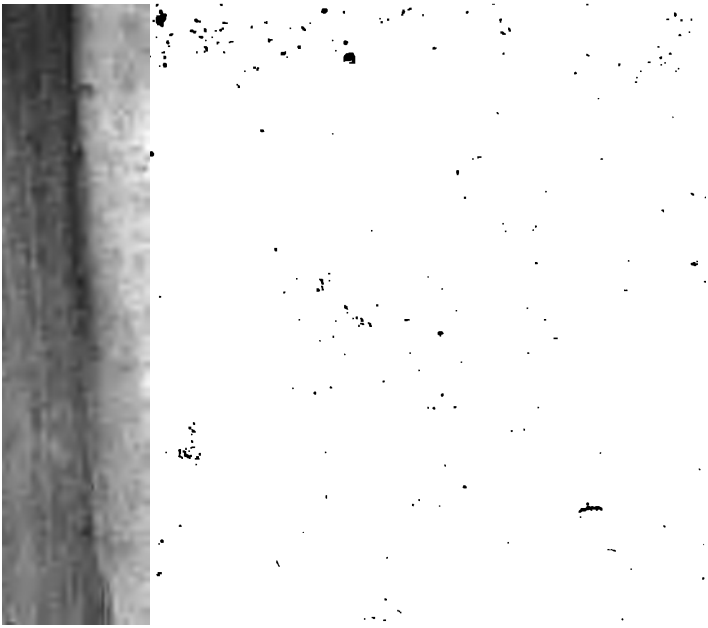
with a burst of laughter, "that thick grass was easier cut than thin;" implying that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches and all their slaves. When he was asked, "what then he would leave them?" he sternly replied, "their lives." These were hard conditions for such a celebrated city to accept; but compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and stripping the heathen temples, and thus at length bought off their fierce invaders. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after; pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it; but whether by force or stratagem is not agreed among historians. U. C. 1163. A. D. 418. Thus that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt in turn the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the Pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days; and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still numberless traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction than a total overthrow.

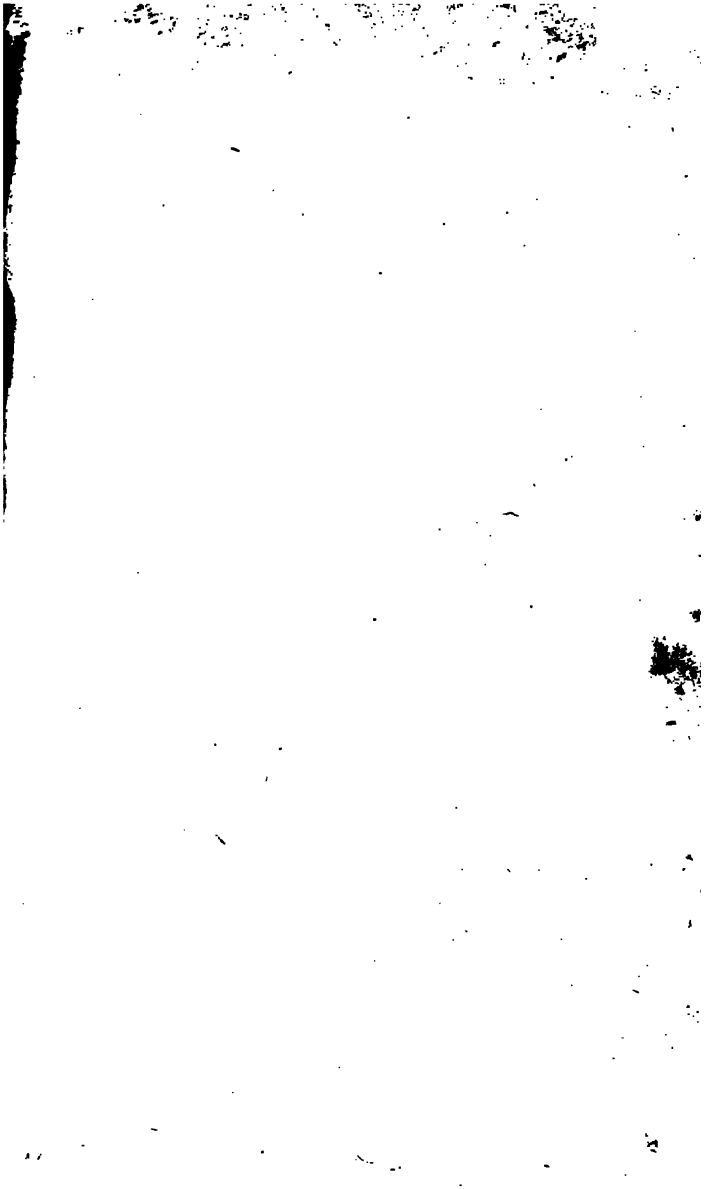
But the Gothic conquerors of the west though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had in fact made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged *to retire to Ravenna*, a place so fortified by nature, that

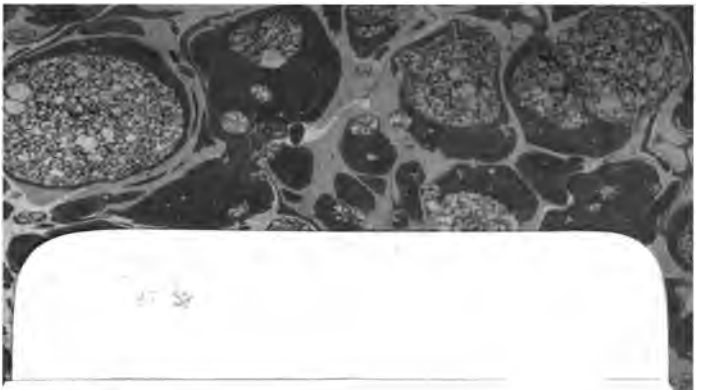
they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric therefore spared, Gesneric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy: his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury, in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings, neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy overrun by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe, the western emperors for some time continued to hold the title without the power of royalty Honorius lived *till he* saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions, his capital taken by the Goths, the Huns seized on Pannonia, the Allanes Suevi, and Vandals established in Spain, and the Burgundians settled in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed themselves at last. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome also, being abandoned by their *princes*, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands Armorica and Britain, seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those who assumed the title of emperors only encountered certain destruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the West expired upon the abdication of Augustulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of king of all Italy. Such was the end of *this great* empire, that had conquered mankind with its arms, and instructed the world with its wisdom; that had risen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and that sunk into ruin when the empire was become so extensive that a Roman citizen was but an empty name Its final dissolution happened about five hundred and twenty-two years after the battle of Pharsalia, an hundred and forty-six after the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople, and four hundred and seventy six after the nativity of our Saviour.

THE END.







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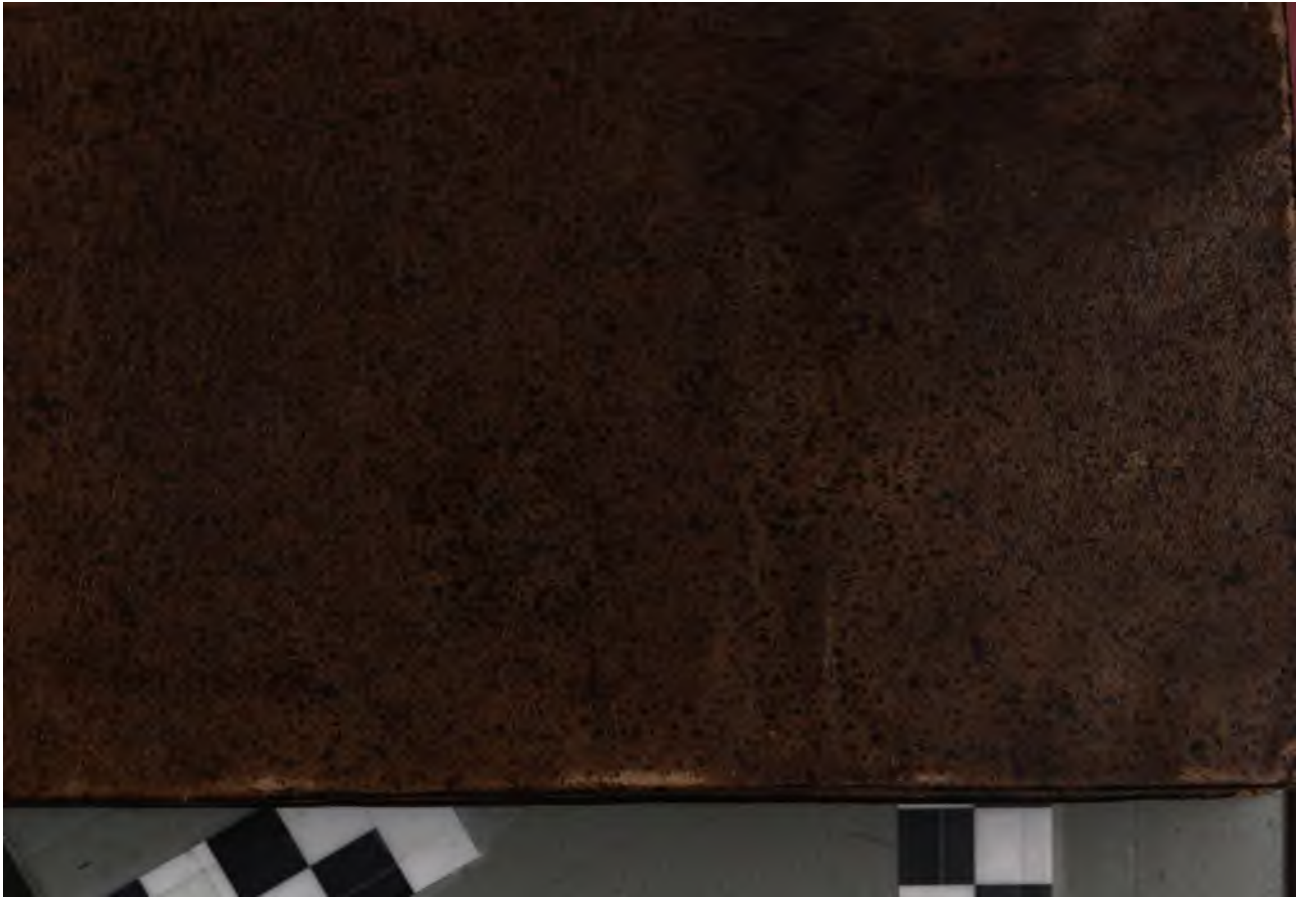
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